

THE INFLUENCE OF COUNTY PARTY CHAIRMEN UPON
COUNTY PARTY ACTIVITY

By

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For My Parents

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Before finishing this study, I regarded acknowledgments as necessary but usually gratuitous exercises, prompted more by politeness than by genuine appreciation. Five years and three states later, I have changed my opinion. No one is more conscious of the errors in this work than am I; no one is more aware than I of the errors it has been spared by the advice and help of friends.

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Despite the position of the county as the major political subdivision of party organization in the United States, little work has been done on the impact of county party leadership upon the activities of the local party organization. This study is based upon a questionnaire administered to Democratic and Republican county chairmen from across the country. Using these data, two models of local party activity are examined.

The first model is developed from earlier research on county party chairmen. Previous studies have concentrated upon the demographic traits of the county leadership. These traits have been assumed to be significant in explaining the activity of the local party organization. This study examines this hypothesis by looking

at two sets of characteristics of the chairmen: first, the demographic characteristics of education, age, occupation, and time served in office; and, second, the attitudinal characteristics of liberal-conservative self-placement, attitudes toward the activity of the federal government, the level of government about which the chairman is most concerned, and the chairman's assessment of the most important problem facing the state. Party activity is measured first as election activity, those tasks designed to influence voters, and, second, as the degree of interparty communication between the chairmen and various public and party officials. Little connection is found between the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of the chairmen and the activities of the local party organization.

The second model examined links the political orientations of the chairmen with local party activity. Orientations are defined according to Wilson's division of party activists into amateur and professional politicians. This division is made on the basis of the degree of the chairman's party loyalty and the degree of commitment to issues. An additional distinction is made between those amateurs who believe politicians should make decisions based upon their own best judgment and those who feel the politician should follow the wishes of the constituency. The results indicate the amateurs are less likely than professionals to engage in campaign activity and less likely to participate in communications on party business with other party and public officials. On the other hand, those amateurs--"majoritarians"--who feel the politician should rely upon the wishes of the constituency in making policy decisions are less likely than both the remaining amateurs and the professionals to engage in campaign activity, but more

likely than the other amateurs to contact the governor, congressmen,
and U.S. Senators on party business.

CHAPTER ONE

THE STUDY OF COUNTY PARTY CHAIRMEN AND THE LOCAL POLITICAL PARTY

The county is the major unit of political party organization in the United States. Many congressional and judicial districts are drawn in accordance with county lines, and state statutes frequently give legal sanction to the position of the county party apparatus. For American parties many believe ". . . that in most states the major locus of organization vitality, and thus of organizational authority, is the county committee" (Sorauf, 1976, p. 8). This research concentrates on the task performance of county party chairmen, focusing specifically upon the organization and activities of the local party organization. The chairmen will be examined from the perspective of two models of party organization activity. The first model suggests the behavior of the party organization is associated with the demographic and attitudinal structure of county chairmen; the second model relies upon the orientations of the chairmen toward politics. Previous studies have concentrated upon the demographic characteristics of the chairmen; this research also includes their political attitudes, motivations, and orientations. Such an approach helps to fill a deficiency in the literature of local party organizations.

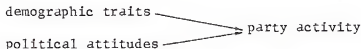
Writing on the connection between public opinion and the maintenance of a Democratic political regime, V. O. Key noted that "repeatedly, as we have sought to explain particular distributions, movements, and qualities of mass opinion, we have had to . . . make assumptions and estimates about the role and behavior of that stratum of persons referred to variously as the political elite, the political activists, the leadership echelons or the influentials" (1961, p. 536). Key laments the lack of "systemic knowledge" of the composition, social structure, and behavioral patterns of this "thin stratum." Sorauf attributes the lack of knowledge about this level of party leadership to limited data and limited interest (1975); these seem unusual circumstances given the important position of the county in American politics.

The lack of information about the local party organization and Key's suggestions, in particular, have spawned a number of examinations of local party leadership. A large part of the work dealing with the county party has involved examinations of the county chairmen, emphasizing comparisons of their demographic characteristics. Attitudinal and policy differences among the chairmen have been left almost wholly unexplored, rarely involving more than categorization as liberal or conservative. While these studies have sought to determine if the local county party leadership constitutes a layer of the thin stratum of political activists who might differ from the remainder of the population, the studies are predicated on the assumption that the chairmen have an impact upon the activities of their county organization.

A review of the research on the county party chairmen makes one fact apparent: there is little consensus among the case studies. Consequently, no ready summary of the previous work is possible. While the variables examined have been consistent--age, education, income, occupation, liberal or conservative--few of the findings coincide. Flinn and Wirt, studying state party chairmen in Ohio, conclude that there is very little difference with regard to age, education, occupation, and income (1965). Patterson's study of Oklahoma chairmen, on the other hand, finds Democratic chairmen older than Republican chairmen, but the Republicans more educated, with higher occupational status and higher incomes (1963). Pomper's study of chairmen in New Jersey reports few differences between Democratic and Republican chairmen in terms of age and income; in terms of occupation, however, Republicans rank above Democrats in status (1965). These differences in demographic characteristics imply the potential for differences in the actions and in the attitudes of the county chairmen.

The premise underlying the study of demographic and attitudinal traits is that those characteristics influence the local party leadership which, in turn, influences the local party organization. This model may be specified as follows:

leadership



The model implies that demographic characteristics of individuals in a party organization are an indicator of different types of party activity. If this is true, one would anticipate differing party activities from organizations directed by individuals who differ in

regard to demographic and attitudinal characteristics. The reasoning underpinning this assumption is readily understood. "The function of leadership," Meyer says, is ". . . to mediate between environmental uncertainties and organizational structures" (1972, p. 516). The perception of what constitutes an "uncertainty" and an appropriate response for that uncertainty will be conditioned by the nature of the leadership that confronts alterations in the environment. The model implies that knowing the characteristics of the chairmen makes possible a prediction of the activities of the organization. As Key says:

The traits and characteristics of political activists assume importance in the light of a theory about why the leadership and governing levels in any society behave as they do. That theory amounts to the proposition that these political actors constitute in effect a subculture with its own peculiar set of norms of behavior, motives, and approved standards. (1961, p. 537)

Patterson echoes this assessment, arguing that knowledge regarding demographic composition, political experience, and the self-perceptions of the chairmen is ". . . suggestive of the nature and function of party leadership at the county level" (1963, p. 334). Crotty maintains that background characteristics of political leadership ". . . shape an individual's perceptions and consequently his interpretation of his role while in office" (1967, p. 670). The implicit connection that has been made in some of the literature on local party personnel between the demographic variables of individuals and the activity of party leadership seems to be an effort to duplicate the connection that has been found between demographic variables and individual political participation (Verba and Nie, 1972). However, there is no reason to assume the traits that correlate with higher levels of participation among individuals--education, age, income, for example--will necessarily

translate into patterns of organizational activity. What is missing is the causal mechanism. For example, the characteristics producing higher levels of political participation can be linked to participation because they equip the individual with skills valuable in political life: higher levels of income and education produce greater resources to finance political activity as well as greater articulateness. There is no mechanism linking an individual's demographic traits and local party activity, no reason to assume a "spill-over" that would associate high levels of personal participation with different types of organizational activity. Age, education, and income may be highly correlated with political involvement on the part of county chairmen, but there is no theoretical reason to maintain these variables will be associated with different local party activities.

There has been no effort to relate, in a systematic and rigorous manner, either the demographic or the attitudinal characteristics of the county chairmen to the activity of the county organizations. While studies of the county chairmen imply that demographic differences among the chairmen may make a difference in the behavior of the county organization, this proposition has never been tested and the answer remains a deficiency in our knowledge of the county organization.

An examination of the connection between the demographic and attitudinal variables and their influence upon local party activity is one objective of this research. I shall test the proposition that the demographic and attitudinal structures of the county party chairmen can be associated with the activities of the local party organization by correlating measures of county party activity with measures of the demographic and attitudinal attributes of the county chairmen.

Obviously, then, it is necessary to examine the demographic and attitudinal traits of the chairmen. This analysis may help to clarify the disjointed findings of earlier case studies as well as lay the groundwork for a systematic examination of the chairmen's demographic and attitudinal characteristics and the impact of those characteristics on party activity.

Examining the connection between the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of the county leadership and local party activity is only one side of the problem. It leaves unexplored the potential impact upon the activity of the party organization of the chairmen's orientations toward politics. Earlier studies stop short of any detailed analysis of the political perceptions of the chairmen. This failure is significant, for there is substantial evidence that the county chairmen may also play an important role in shaping the local party's activity through their political values and beliefs. The county chairmen comprise a group for whom politics has a high degree of salience. The chairmen fulfill a role in what Easton calls the "political community": ". . . a group of persons bound together by a political division of labor," participating in ". . . a common structure and set of processes. . . ." (1965, p. 177).

There is reason to believe both that the role of the county organization in American politics has changed and that the performance of the county party leadership has changed with it. As part of the political milieu, the chairmen are subject to the same forces that influence American politics. Beginning in the 1950s and with increasing momentum in the 1960s, American society, and, as a consequence, American political parties appear to have undergone a profound change. The dimensions

of this transformation are only now apparent. Distinctions between party alignments based upon social and economic class have blurred, modified by new alignments based upon issues and attitudes (Ladd and Hadley, 1975; Sunquist, 1973). This emphasis upon issues and attitudes has produced a change in political leadership, a change amounting in some instances to a schism between "old" and "new" style political activists. This development points directly to the county party chairmen.

In control of the county party organization, the chairmen would be expected to have an impact upon the operation of that organization. The county chairmen may be unwilling to adopt strategies, espouse political philosophies, or advocate governmental solutions to political questions that they feel are in conflict with their own political outlook. As Walter Dean Burnham has observed, "no established political elite is prepared to incorporate demands the effective realization of which is incompatible with its fundamental interests or with the existing rules of the game" (1976, p. 148). Different orientations toward politics may result in different local party activity. From these observations a second model of party activity emerges:

Political orientations —————→ party activity

This model implies that county leadership holding different orientations toward political activity may emphasize different aspects of party activity in the interest of maximizing its own interests.

"Leadership incentives and orientation, as well as their stability and change over time, are likely to have considerable impact on the style of politics which prevails at the grassroots level of the party organization" (Gluck, 1972, p. 760). Several examples serve to illustrate

this point. In his study of party workers in Detroit, Eldersveld concludes party activists differed both in the type and the salience of their motivations for party activity (1964, p. 225). The consequence, he says, may manifest itself as a change in the orientations of the local party: ". . . a consciousness of power as the goal of the party is intimately related to the individual's own ambitions, interests, and drives in political organizational life" (p. 243). Again, increased time in office may alter the motivational incentives of those occupying the office, and, subsequently, influence the party organization. Huckshorne's study of state party chairmen substantiates this view. He finds that with length of time in office ". . . changes in performance often take place. Thus, at any given time, the role conception may differ when the actors remain the same" (1976, p. 70). Concomitant with this finding is that ". . . the short tenure of party chairmen may be the most serious detriment to building an effective party organization" (Huckshorne, 1976, p. 70). As a result, tenure in office may have an impact upon local party organization and its activities because of the altered orientation even when the activists have held local party office and worked for candidates in their own party. This notable phenomenon is reported by Johnson and Gibson in their study of party activists in Iowa (1974, pp. 72-73).

As these examples indicate, the orientations of the chairmen to politics may have an impact upon the behavior of the individual and, ultimately, the political organization. This phenomenon may be seen most clearly in the increased participation in American politics of persons oriented not toward the traditional rewards of political parties such as patronage, but rather toward issues and policy. While

recent studies of American electoral behavior have indicated the emergence of this new figure (DeVries and Tarrance, 1972; Nie et al., 1976), the harbingers of the change among political activists were first described by James Q. Wilson in The Amateur Democrat. Studying the political clubs of New York and California, Wilson drew a distinction between political amateurs and political professionals. The amateur finds politics "intrinsically interesting" because it expresses a conception of the public interest. "The amateur politician sees the political world more in terms of ideas and principles than in terms of persons" (1968, p. 3). The professional politician, on the other hand, is ". . . preoccupied with the outcome of politics in terms of winning or losing; the professional's goal is to keep everybody happy and thus to minimize the chance of electoral defeat" (p. 4).

A number of additional studies have confirmed the existence of this activist group in American politics. In an urban setting, Hirshfield, Swanson, and Blank have drawn attention to the "New Look" among activists in Manhattan. "The contemporary politician," they write, "considers his party organization an instrument for effectuating policy rather than a haven of personal security. He tends to be more interested in social reform than in catering to individual constituents" (1962, p. 505). Salisbury finds the amateur activists in urban areas concerned with policy issues, frowning on unquestioning party loyalty, while the professional emphasizes organization, discipline, rewards, and loyalty (1965). On the periphery of party officials, the amateur syndrome has been observed among campaign workers by Johnson and Gibson. Those workers who "bolted" the party following an unsuccessful primary campaign ". . . were more likely to be political

amateurs; 80 percent had less than five years of political experience, 75 percent were not strong party identifiers, and nearly all had no previous campaign experience" (1974, p. 76).

The division between amateur and professional has also been observed within party leadership. Wildavsky explains the nomination of Barry Goldwater by the Republican party in 1964 as the product of the efforts of political "purists" (1971, pp. 248-265). A study of the Democratic counterpart of the Goldwater nomination, McGovern's presidential nomination in 1972, finds among the Democrats a similar division between amateurs and professionals in outlook (Sullivan et al., 1976), a conclusion confirmed by Soule and Clarke in their study of delegates to the Democratic conventions of 1968 and 1972 (1975).

The appearance of the amateur-professional syndrome in local party activity has serious implications for the local party. The amateur-professional model of party organization postulates a portion of the party's activists for whom party electoral success and the rewards of that success are no longer adequate to sustain party activity. Increased emphasis among the amateurs upon policy goals results in decreased emphasis upon the success of the party organization, thus further weakening the organization. This fundamental difference between amateurs and professionals over the party's goals may finally result in disruption of the party organization and hostility between the amateur and professionally oriented politicians. This was apparently the case in the selection of delegates from California to the 1972 Democratic National Convention (Cavala, 1974).

Thus, there is evidence to suggest that political orientations and the view of politics brought by the individual to the post of

county chairman, may have an impact upon the county party organization. In addition, as discussed earlier, much previous research on county chairmen implicitly postulates a connection between the demographic traits of the chairmen and party activity. These are the propositions examined in this study.

The research in the following pages is based upon a national sample of county party chairmen done by the Institute of Public Administration, Indiana University. The data themselves come from a mail questionnaire sent in 1970 to 2,786 county chairmen across the United States; 1,606 of the chairmen, or 57.6 percent, responded. The return rate among Democrats was 55.6 percent and among Republicans 59.7 percent. The questions asked may be grouped into five broad categories: (1) campaign activities of the county and precinct party organizations, (2) organization of the county party, (3) the chairmen's opinions on a variety of policy and government oriented issue areas at both the state and national level, (4) the chairmen's perceptions of the job of county chairman, and (5) demographic information on the chairmen. A copy of the questionnaire may be found in Appendix A. This study makes possible an exploration of the stratum of county party chairmen at the national level and the county organizations they lead. In addition, it allows for the analysis of the attitudes and political outlook of the chairmen, missing from earlier studies.

The balance of this research will examine local party organization in the United States in light of the models described earlier: (1) that the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of the chairmen are associated with party activity; and (2) that the personnel orientations of the chairmen toward political activity are related to differences in

their party activity. In short, I will look at the leadership of the local party organization to assess its impact upon the activities and organization of the local party.

In the remainder of this analysis, Chapter Two defines the demographic and attitudinal independent variables to be used in Chapter Three. Chapter Three first formulates the dependent variables of party activity to be used throughout the analysis, and, second, compares the demographic and attitudinal variables with the measures of party activity. Chapter Four begins the discussion of the political orientations of the chairmen by defining in operational terms the amateur-professional dimension; then the amateurs and professionals among the chairmen are compared in demographic and attitudinal make-up. Chapter Five builds upon Four by examining the relationship between the amateurs and professionals and the measures of party activity.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ATTITUDINAL STRUCTURE OF THE CHAIRMEN

Despite the emphasis analysts give to the importance of the county organization in American politics, little empirical work has been done on county party chairmen. The work that has been done is confined to studies of one or two states and the studies themselves limited to the analysis of socio-economic differences, only occasionally and only peripherally touching upon differences in the attitudes or the activities of the chairmen. This analysis is based upon a sample comprising all fifty states; the sample includes information on the social characteristics of the chairmen as well as their attitudes on a variety of policy positions. With these data it is possible to arrive, first, at a national profile of county chairmen, and, second, to explore their political attitudes and values. This chapter is divided into two sections: first, an examination of the demographic characteristics of the chairmen, and second, a comparison of the chairmen in terms of their political attitudes.

I will compare the chairmen in terms of the demographic variables of education, age, and occupation; in addition, length of time in the office of county chairman is considered. These variables have been selected to be consistent with earlier studies of county party chairmen. These characteristics are important in the context of political

life. As Bowman and Boynton say, ". . . background characteristics produce the competence to operate easily in the world of politics as well as a set of attitudes which dispose the individual to take an active part in the political world" (1966, p. 670). Only those with adequate resources, information, understanding, and sufficient political skills are able to fully participate in political life (Sorauf, 1976). Verba and Nie, for example, have demonstrated that political activity for the general population gradually increases throughout the life cycle, with only a "relatively minor decline" for those over age 65 after socio-economic status (education and income) and length of residence in the community have been statistically controlled (1972, p. 148). Key has argued that education contributes to a sense of political obligation and develops a "lively awareness" of the relevance of political activity (1961, p. 325). Additionally, Campbell has noted a high degree of association between education, political participation, and a sense of political efficacy, on one hand, and awareness of issues, on the other (Campbell et al., 1964).

The data presented in Table 2-1 indicate the demographic status of the chairmen. Regarding education, 48 percent of the Democratic and 58 percent of the Republican chairmen have a college education or better. The figures indicate Republican chairmen are slightly better educated than their Democratic counterparts--9 percent more Republicans have at least a college degree. These findings are inconsistent with the findings of other studies of county chairmen done at the state level. For North Carolina, Crotty reports that Democratic educational attainments are greater than those of Republicans, particularly at the post-graduate level, where 40 percent of the Democratic

Table 2-1
Demographic Variables by Party
(in percents)

<u>Education</u>	Party		
	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Republican</u>	
none--some high school	6.3	3.9	
high school	17.1	11.2	
some college	28.2	27.2	
college and post-grad.	48.4	57.7	
N =	766	823	$\chi^2 = 20.93^a$ df = 3
<u>Age</u>			
22 to 35	11.8	13.7	
36 to 50	45.8	50.5	
51 to 65	32.8	27.9	
66 to 86	9.7	8.0	
N =	756	804	$\chi^2 = 7.34$ df = 3
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional, technical, kindred workers	46.0	39.9	
Managers, officials	38.9	43.2	
Farmers, farm workers	15.2	17.0	
N =	633	672	$\chi^2 = 4.94$ df = 2
<u>Time in Office</u>			
2 years or less	37.8	45.5	
3 or 4 years	26.6	23.2	
5 years or more	35.6	31.3	
N =	756	805	$\chi^2 = 9.35^b$ df = 2

^asignificant at .001

^bsignificant at .01

chairmen have post-graduate experience but only 13 percent of the Republican chairmen have had the same experience (1967). Similar findings are reported by Patterson for Oklahoma chairmen: more Democrats than Republicans have college degrees or better; Conway and Feigert reach similar conclusions for precinct committeemen in Illinois and Maryland (Patterson, 1963; Conway and Feigert, 1968). Nevertheless, the figures point toward high educational levels for the chairmen of both parties.

Age is significant in calculations of political participation. As Campbell has pointed out, the various changes in life style and activity brought by changes in age mean that certain age groups will have more interest and time to devote toward political activity; in addition increased age appears associated not only with increased party identification, but also with increased political awareness (Campbell et al., 1964). This conclusion is reached by Verba and Nie who find that participation, after controlling for social status and length of residence in the community, increases throughout the life cycle, with only a small downward trend among those sixty-five years of age or older. They conclude, "the longer one is exposed to politics, the more likely one is to participate" (1972, p. 148).

In their study of state party chairmen, Wiggins and Turk find 99.4 percent of the Republican state chairmen and 77.7 percent of the Democratic state chairmen over the age of forty with the highest percentage of chairmen between ages forty and forty-nine (1970). An analysis of Indiana chairmen in 1972 found 18 percent of the Democratic chairmen and 36 percent of the Republican chairmen below the age of

thirty-five; 19 percent of the Democrats and 29 percent of the Republicans were between ages fifty-six and sixty-five (Yeric, 1973).

As Table 2-1 indicates, for the national sample of chairmen, Republicans tend to be slightly younger than Democrats, an average age of forty-eight and forty-nine years old, respectively. For both parties, most chairmen are between ages thirty-six and fifty: 46 percent of the Democrats and 51 percent of the Republicans. An additional 33 percent of the Democrats and 28 percent of the Republicans are found between ages fifty-one and sixty-five. Participation in the role of county chairman declines rapidly after age sixty-five. Between ages sixty-five and eighty-six are found only 10 percent of the Democrats and 8 percent of the Republicans. Differences between the parties in respect to age are minimal; the chairmen of both parties tend to be middle and slightly above middle age.

Because of the wide range of occupations held by the county chairmen, only those occupational classifications that comprise 10 percent or more of the whole sample (i.e., 160 chairmen or more) were included. These classifications are those of (1) professional, technical, and kindred workers, (2) managers, officials, and proprietors, and (3) farmers and farm managers. These categories comprise 81 percent of the whole sample (1,305 cases). The differences between the Democratic and Republican chairmen are not statistically significant. The largest differences are found between Democratic and Republican chairmen in professional occupations; 6 percent more Democrats than Republicans are found in that classification. Overall, the differences between the chairmen are small.

Finally, the tenure of the chairmen in office seems brief. Almost 46 percent of the Democratic chairmen report they have been in office two years or less. At the other extreme, nearly 36 percent of the Democratic chairmen and slightly more than 31 percent of the Republican chairmen have been in office five years or more. While, in both parties, there is a tendency for the numbers of chairmen to cluster at the extremes (two years or less, five years or more), the figures indicate that Democrats are slightly more likely to have served in office longer than Republicans.

Southern chairmen* show few differences when compared with chairmen from other areas of the country, as shown in Table 2-2. Six and one-tenth percent more Southern Chairmen than non-Southern chairmen have a college education or better; educational differences at other levels are even smaller. For age, differences are not statistically significant.

Occupational differences are also small. Among non-Southern chairmen, 42 percent are found in professional occupations, compared to 45 percent among the Southern chairmen. Four percent more Southern chairmen are in managerial positions than are non-Southern chairmen. The largest percentage difference between non-Southern and Southern chairmen is found in the classification of farmers and farm workers, 18 percent among the non-Southerners and 11 percent among the Southern chairmen. Occupational differences between regions are not substantial.

*The Southern states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia.

Table 2-2

Demographic Variables by Region
(in percents)

	Region		
	non- Southern	Southern	
<u>Education</u>			
none--some high school	5.1	4.8	
high school	14.7	12.6	
some college	28.9	25.2	
college and post-grad.	51.3	57.4	
N =	1073	516	$\chi^2 = 5.34$ df = 3
<u>Age</u>			
22 to 35	12.7	12.3	
36 to 50	47.9	46.8	
51 to 65	31.3	31.4	
66 to 86	8.2	9.6	
N =	1076	505	$\chi^2 = 1.93$ df = 3
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional, technical, kindred workers	41.9	44.9	
Managers, officials	39.8	43.7	
Farmers, farm workers	18.3	11.4	
N =	884	421	$\chi^2 = 10.16$ df = 2
<u>Time in Office</u>			
2 years or less	44.5	36.1	
3 or 4 years	24.3	26.0	
5 years or more	31.2	37.9	
N =	1066	495	$\chi^2 = 7.935^b$ df = 2

^asignificant at .001^bsignificant at .01

Larger differences appear, however, in regard to length of time in office. Southern chairmen serve in office longer than their non-Southern counterparts. While 45 percent of the non-Southern chairmen have been in office less than two years, only 36 percent of the Southern chairmen fall into that category. Conversely, nearly 38 percent of the Southerners, but only 31 percent of the non-Southerners, have been in office five years or more. With regard, then, to the demographic variables of age, education, occupation, and time in office, it may be said Democratic and Republican chairmen do not differ greatly one from another. Differences are minor between Southern and non-Southern chairmen, also, with the exception of tenure in office.

The second step in this analysis is to examine the opinion structure of the county chairmen. Differences in policy preferences among party leaders have been noted in several studies; McClosky's is probably the best known (McClosky et al., 1960). He examined delegates to the Democratic and Republican national party conventions, comparing their issue preferences with the preferences of a national sample of adults. The issues fell under five broad headings: Public Ownership, Government Regulation of the Economy, Equalitarianism and Human Welfare, Tax Policy, and Foreign Policy. McClosky found differences between Republicans and Democratic leaders ". . . conform with the popular image in which the Democratic party is seen as the more 'progressive' or 'radical,' the Republican as the more 'moderate' or 'conservative' of the two" (p. 410). A similar division has been reported by Nie, Verba, and Petrocik. They find that Democrats, especially the party activists, tend to cluster heavily in the liberal end of an issue scale while the Republicans are likely to be found at the conservative end of the

scale (1976). Among previous studies of county chairmen, there is little consistency in the attitudes that have been examined. Flinn and Wirt employed a "salience of issues" approach while Bowman reports only the generalized categories "concern with issues" and "community obligation," as the prime incentives for participation in politics among precinct chairmen in North Carolina and Massachusetts (Flinn and Wirt, 1965; Bowman et al., 1969). As these examples indicate, examination of attitudinal preferences among the chairmen has been erratic and ancillary to a concern with demographic traits. The question examined in the next pages is whether or not the chairmen hold differing attitudinal preferences and, if so, over what issues.

The chairmen's attitudes will be gauged from their responses to several questions. They were asked to rank themselves on a five-place continuum from very liberal to very conservative; to facilitate presentation, this continuum is collapsed to liberal, middle-of-the-road, and conservative by combining the very liberal with the liberal responses and the very conservative with the conservative responses. In addition, the chairmen were asked their views on whether the activity of the federal government should increase, remain the same, or decrease; with what level of government, local, state, or national, they are most concerned; and, last, an open-ended question regarding what they see as the most important problem facing their state. Responses to this question were grouped under three major categories: social issues, economic problems, and state government and political party responses.*

*Answers to the open-ended question regarding the major problem facing the state were categorized as follows: (1) Social: racial problems, corruption in government, welfare, education, urban problems,

These attitudes, crosstabulated by party, are reported in Table 2-3.

The greatest differences between Democratic and Republican chairmen are over the self-categorization as liberal, middle-of-the-road, or conservative. The Democratic chairmen are far more likely to call themselves liberal than are their Republican counterparts, 43 percent to only 5 percent. While almost equal percentages of the chairmen from each party classify themselves as middle-of-the-road, 38 percent of the Democrats and 33 percent of the Republicans, only 19 percent of the Democratic chairmen, but 62 percent of the Republican chairmen, call themselves conservatives.

Substantial differences are also apparent over the question of whether the activity of the federal government should increase, remain the same, or decrease. One-quarter of the Democrats, but only 5 percent of the Republicans, would like to see an increase in the activity of the federal government; 20 percent of the Democrats would see federal government activity remain the same, as opposed to 9 percent of the Republicans. On the other hand, the figures show almost 31 percent more Republican chairmen than Democratic chairmen favor a decrease in the activity of the federal government, 86.4 percent to 55.5 percent. A majority of the chairmen from both parties favor decreasing federal government activity.

crime, law and order, drug problems, environmental problems, health problems, transportation, highways, mass transit, federal government interference, public alienation, too many liberals or conservatives, consumer protection, Vietnam War, need for Christianity, church-state relations; (2) Economic: tax reform, taxes, high cost of government, the economy, high cost of living, unemployment, economic development, labor-management relations; (3) Government-Political Party: party problems, need for two-party system, public apathy, government reorganization, specific personalities or political groups, need for patriotism, and improving the state's image.

Table 2-3

Political Attitudes of Chairmen by Party
(in percents)

	Party		
	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>			
Liberal	43.1	5.3	$\chi^2 = 373.87^a$
Middle-of-the-Road	38.0	32.6	
Conservative	18.9	62.1	
N =	677	723	
<u>Activity of Federal Govt.</u>			
Increase	25.5	4.9	$\chi^2 = 186.26^a$
Remain the same	19.9	8.7	
Decrease	55.5	86.4	
N =	570	774	
<u>Most Concerned with:</u>			
Local	38.5	33.1	$\chi^2 = 4.75^c$
State	36.3	33.2	
National	27.9	33.7	
N =	570	635	
<u>Most Important Problem Facing State</u>			
Social issues	27.1	26.4	$\chi^2 = 9.93^b$
Economic	64.4	59.6	
State govt./pol. party	8.5	14.0	
N =	621	715	

^adf for all Chi Squares = 2; significant at .001

^bsignificant at .01

^cnot significant

Differences between the parties are minor over which level of government, local, state, or national, the chairmen have the most concern. As Table 2-3 shows, the chairmen are divided almost evenly across the three governmental levels, with the Democrats showing slightly greater concern for local government: 39 percent of the Democrats are most concerned with local government, as opposed to 33 percent of the Republicans. More substantial are the differences over the most important problem facing the state. In both of the parties, the chairmen regard economic concerns as the major problem confronting their state, and almost even percentages, 27.1 percent of the Democrats and 26.4 percent of the Republicans, see social issues as paramount. But the Democrats are less likely to view state government problems as the most important of state concerns than are the Republicans; 8.5 percent of the Democratic chairmen say this is their states' most important problem but only 14 percent of the Republicans make this assessment.

While the differences between Southern and non-Southern chairmen are minimal over the demographic characteristics discussed earlier, the differences over political orientations are more pronounced, as reported in Table 2-4. Almost one-half of the Southern chairmen call themselves conservatives, only 16 percent say they are liberal. For non-Southerners, 37 percent report being conservative with over one-quarter maintaining they are liberal. Over three-quarters of the Southern chairmen think the activities of the federal government should decrease, as opposed to 69 percent of the non-Southern chairmen. The Southern chairmen are also more concerned about local government than are non-Southerners, 41 to 32 percent, and, while they are more

Table 2-4

Political Attitudes of Chairmen by Region
(in percents)

	Region		
	<u>non- Southern</u>	<u>Southern</u>	
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>			
Liberal	27.1	16.4	$\chi^2 = 27.44^a$
Middle-of-the-Road	35.9	33.8	
Conservative	37.0	49.8	
N =	951	445	
<u>Activity of Federal Govt.</u>			
Increase	16.5	9.9	$\chi^2 = 14.75$
Remain the Same	14.7	12.3	
Decrease	68.7	77.8	
N =	985	473	
<u>Most Concerned with:</u>			
Local	31.5	40.6	$\chi^2 = 31.99$
State	40.0	23.3	
National	28.6	36.1	
N =	826	382	
<u>Most Important Problem Facing State</u>			
Social issues	21.8	37.6	$\chi^2 = 69.38$
Economic	69.3	45.5	
State govt./pol. party	8.9	17.0	
N =	918	418	

^adf for all Chi Squares = 2; significance for all Chi Squares, .001

concerned about national politics than non-Southern chairmen, 36 to 29 percent, they fall far behind in their concern for state governments--only 23 percent of the Southerners are most concerned with state government, compared to 40 percent of the non-Southern chairmen.

These figures tend to indicate that the chairmen do not share similar political attitudes. The figures do not, however, gauge the significance of issues for the chairmen. A means of assessing the salient issues for the county chairmen are their responses as to why they first became involved in local party activity. Following the division by Clark and Wilson for organizational participation (1961), responses to the closed-ended questions were grouped into three broad categories: purposive (contact influentials, issue concerns, community obligation), solidarity (strong party loyalty, politics as a way of life, social contact, personal friendships), and material (helpful in business, seek office). Interest here is in examining potential differences between the chairmen of the two parties and between Southern and non-Southern chairmen. Earlier research has pointed to the conclusion that local party activists become involved in politics chiefly for purposive reasons. This is the conclusion reached by Conway and Feigert in their examination of Knox County, Illinois, and Montgomery County Maryland (1968). In Knox County, 18 percent of the Democratic precinct captains and 16 percent of the Republican captains said they became active in politics to influence politics; in Montgomery County, the figures are more decisive: 30 percent of the Democrats and 42 percent of the Republican captains became active to influence policy. Similar findings have been reported for Massachusetts and North Carolina precinct captains, with 92 percent of the Democrats and 89 percent

of the Republicans listing concern with public issues as the major reason they became active in party affairs (Bowman et al., 1969).

The figures for the national sample of county chairmen, reported in Table 2-5, duplicate these findings. While 63 percent of the Republican chairmen list purposive concerns as their most important reason for becoming chairmen, a majority of the Democratic chairmen, almost 55 percent, also cite purposive incentives as the major reason for becoming involved in local party politics. The Democratic chairmen, however, are more likely to have solidarity incentives, 43.7 percent, than are the Republicans, 35.1 percent. By far the least significant factor in initial local party work is the material incentives. Only 2.5 percent of the Democratic chairmen and only 1.4 percent of the Republican chairmen indicate material incentives were the major stimulus to political party activity.

Table 2-5 also presents the figures for the regional breakdown. Purposive incentives predominate for both non-Southern and for Southern chairmen, both regions about 59 percent, followed by solidarity incentives, both about 39 percent. Material incentives were, once more, the least important factor.

These results coincide with those reported by Wiggins and Turk for state party chairmen: ". . . the data indicate that they were motivated primarily by what might be termed idealistic, philosophical, task-oriented, or impersonal motives" (1970, pp. 330-331). Personal motivations or material gain in the Wiggins-Turk study, as in the national sample, received less frequent mention.

There would appear to be, then, substantial differences between the chairmen. They differ as to their attitudes toward the activity

Table 2-5
Incentives for Initial Local Party Activity
by Party and Region
(in percents)

	Incentive			
	Purposive	Solidarity	Material	N
<u>Party</u>				
Democratic	54.7	43.7	2.5	775
Republican	63.4	35.1	1.4	831
				X = 12.72 ^a
<u>Region</u>				
Non-Southern	59.3	39.3	1.4	1093
Southern	59.1	39.2	1.8	513
				X = .35 ^b

^adf = 2; significant at .01

^bdf = 2; not significant

of the federal government and they differ in their self-classification as liberal, middle-of-the-road, or conservative. Moreover, the county party chairmen are concerned about policy questions, most of them indicating issue concerns as their chief reason for becoming county chairmen. While a substantial degree of consensus exists as to the major problem facing their states, the wide variety of responses as to the government activity and political attitudes is tentative evidence of major attitudinal differences among the chairmen. Differences between Southern and non-Southern are muted; what differences exist over attitudinal variables are small and differences over demographic

characteristics are negligible. Consequently, the following analysis concentrates upon the chairmen without regional distinctions.

These results amount to a confirmation as well as an expansion of earlier work on the county chairmen. Reaffirmed are the findings of the chairmen's high social and educational status: they are well-educated and tend to be found in professional and white-collar jobs. They are also likely to be middle-aged, thirty-six to fifty years old. These characteristics are those that enable political participation, providing the necessary time, skill, and resources for participation. In addition, the chairmen differ in their political attitudes. There are appreciable differences between the parties on self-classification as liberal or conservative, the Democratic chairmen being more liberal and the Republicans more conservative. Republican chairmen are also more likely to favor a decrease in the activity of the federal government than are Democrats.

Whether these differences in demographic and attitudinal profiles among county chairmen appear as differences in local party activities is an unexplored question. It is toward this question that attention is turned in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPACT OF THE CHAIRMEN'S DEMOGRAPHIC AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS UPON LOCAL PARTY ACTIVITY

Chapter Two examined the county chairmen from the perspective of demographic and attitudinal variables considered in earlier research, variables indicated in the literature on county chairmen to be of importance for their impact upon local party organization. While it is possible for activity to affect the ideology of the chairmen, most of the literature indicates that the chairmen affect the activity of the local party organization and that demographic and attitudinal characteristics are a key to the chairmen's influence. For example, in his study of party workers in Detroit, Samuel Patterson suggests that the nature and functions of party leadership at the county level can be understood in terms of the characteristics of party leaders (1963). My purpose in this chapter is to test this assumption. I shall first test the proposition that the independent variables of age, education, party, and time in office have an impact upon the activity of the county party. Second, I will examine what impact political orientations of the chairmen such as self-categorization as liberal or conservative, attitude toward federal government activity, concern for local, state, or national government, and the most important problem facing the state have upon party activity. Initially, the dependent variable, party activity, must be defined more precisely.

The Dependent Variables

Eldersveld identifies four task areas that appear to dominate the concerns of county chairmen: the promotion of factional harmony, the allocation of patronage, planning campaign strategy, and, finally, the development of organizational policy (1964). He adds that ". . . the discussion and the development of strategy for the next campaign was the major task for a large number of the leadership nucleus, directed at immediate vote maximization" (1964, p. 342). Avery Leiserson enumerates major party functions as organization and education of voters, nomination of candidates, the conduct of elections, clarification of alternatives, upward mobility, securing dispensations, privileges, contracts and assistance for potential supporters (1958). Leiserson adds: ". . . all of these functions . . . were developed informally as a by-product of the parties' factional efforts to secure control of government power" (1958, p. 74). Perhaps, then, the "most important" function of political parties in the United States is ". . . the recruitment and election of selected public officials" (Madron and Chelf, 1974, p. 150). In Massachusetts and North Carolina, local party officials (58.3 percent) ranked as their most important functions campaign related activities: contacting voters, raising money, voter registration, campaigning, public relations, and finding new voters (Bowman and Boynton, 1966). Eldersveld, who argues that ". . . precinct leaders by no means accept the doctrine that the primary task was vote production," nonetheless reports 45 percent of both Democratic and Republican leaders maintain their major activity was that of vote mobilization (1964, pp. 253-254). Thus, while the American political party performs a number of different functions--organization, fund

raising, election activities, for example---analysts agree the most outstanding endeavor is election or campaign activity, since from campaign activity and the desire to win elections springs the need for the other activities. Epstein argues party organization always exists for an electoral purpose. "It may have other purposes as well and still be regarded as that of a party, provided the electoral purpose is predominant, if not dominant" (1970, p. 98).

Despite the predominant position given to winning elections, in each of these assessments of party function there is a second common theme, party organization. The achievement of vote maximization is contingent upon organizational activity, organization for the purposes of formulating, coordinating, and implementing campaign strategy. Campaign activity is a portion of the external leadership of the chairmen, leadership which has as its primary focus the electorate. Organizational activity is internally directed, focusing upon other party officials or elected officials (Katz and Eldersveld, 1961). Eldersveld identifies three theoretical roles of the party: first, the party is a task group, competing for political power in elections; second, the party is a communications subsystem, within which take place interactions "between actors, between echelons, between coalitions . . ."; third, the party is a decision group, dealing with tactics and the means to exploit as fully as possible opportunities to the party's advantage (1964, p. 333).

While I have no information applicable to the party as a decision-making group, the first of Eldersveld's categories, the party as a task group, corresponds to campaign activity, while the second category, the party as a communications subsystem, is related to the communications

network in which the county chairmen may take part. In this analysis, then, the dependent variables will be the election activities of the county organization and the communications network of the chairmen. I shall develop both of these variables in turn, beginning with campaign activity.

Measures of party activity are based upon the observations made by the county chairmen. A nationwide study leaves no alternative except reliance upon the perceptions of the chairmen themselves for information on county activity. The cost of hired observers and geographic distances make impossible reliance upon more objective assessments of party activity. Indeed, most studies of the county party organization have had to rely upon the observations of the local party officials.

The chairmen were asked several questions relating to county campaign activity that are germane to my purpose. The questions seek the chairman's assessments of the frequency ("often," "sometimes," or "never") with which the county organization used the following activities at the county level: movie ads, door-to-door canvassing, barbecues, radio ads, rallies, press releases, television, newspaper ads, circulars, literature, telephoning registered voters, billboards, and surveys or polls. These thirteen activities all deal with the electoral activities of county party organizations. The object of this chapter is to explore the possible connection between the performance of these activities and the demographic and attitudinal variables outlined in Chapter Two. My interest is in examining the proposition that differences in campaign activities by local party organizations may be associated with demographic and attitudinal differences among the county

chairmen. To examine this connection, and to facilitate presentation of the data, it is useful to employ as dependent variables only those campaign activities carried out by the party organizations that most differentiate between county organizations.

The selection of these variables is achieved by an analysis of the thirteen activity areas. First, each of the possible responses to the activity is assigned a weight; "often" is assigned 3, "sometimes," 2 and "never," 1. For each chairman, these values are summed over the entire set of thirteen activities. Those chairmen with scores in the highest 25 percent and those with scores in the lowest 25 percent were then subjected to a T-Test for each of the thirteen items. The results are presented in Table 3-1. The larger the T-Score, the more efficiently the activity distinguishes between the high and low scoring groups of chairmen.* The activity that best differentiates between the two groups is the use of surveys or polls, while the smallest distinction between the chairmen is over the use of movie advertisements. The top five variables have been selected as measures of county campaign activity; these five are the frequency with which the county organization uses surveys or polls, press releases, circulars, radio ads, and campaign literature.

The second set of dependent variables is based upon the chairmen's responses to questions regarding the frequency of their contacts with various party and government officials. The chairmen were asked to rank as "often," "sometimes," "hardly ever," and "never" their contacts with

*The procedure is described in Allen L. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1957).

Table 3-1

T-Scores Between Most and Least Active Counties
by Campaign Activity Variables

Campaign use of:	Means		T-Score ^a
	high	low	
surveys/polls	2.14	.88	25.97
press releases	2.82	1.57	24.60
circulars	2.88	1.57	21.62
radio ads	2.67	1.30	21.35
literature	2.91	1.58	20.91
billboards	2.56	1.31	20.64
telephone	2.87	1.58	20.54
canvass	2.81	1.60	20.08
rallies	2.73	1.47	18.97
television	2.87	1.58	18.97
barbecues	2.35	1.27	16.71
newspapers	2.84	1.79	15.59
movie ads	1.05	.73	11.37

^a all scores significant at .001

the following: the state's governor, state legislators, other state officials, county commission state officials, county commissioners, the county prosecutor, congressmen, U.S. senators, state party chairmen, and other county party chairmen. From this list, I have eliminated contacts with "other state officials" since the elective or appointive nature of these other officers is unknown and this difference may alter the type of the contact. In addition, both contacts with county commissioners and county prosecutors have been excluded, since these positions may not exist in the chairman's county. The elimination of these three potential contacts leaves six remaining contacts at local, state, and national levels, and includes both public and party offices. First, I will examine the impact of the demographic and attitudinal variables upon party activity, deferring until the second half of this chapter

an examination of the second set of dependent variables, frequency of contacts.

Characteristics of the Chairmen and Party Activity

Demographic measures. If the demographic and attitudinal differences among the chairmen make a difference in the activities of the different party organizations the chairmen lead, the distinctions should be apparent in a crosstabulation between the demographic and attitudinal variables and the measures of county campaign activity. Table 3-2 presents the chi-square results for the demographic variables of education, age, occupation, and length of time in office, previously defined in Chapter Two.

Despite the large sample size, the chi-squares are all low and few are statistically significant. Moreover, they do not vary greatly across election activities. There are two exceptions to these generalizations. First, the chi-squares between age and the distribution of literature, for both Democratic and Republican chairmen, are noticeably higher than most of the other chi-squares, 16.22 for the Democrats and 21.00 for the Republicans, both results are statistically significant. These relatively large chi-squares, however, exaggerate small percentage differences between the Democratic and Republican chairmen. For the Democrats, 6.8 percent between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-five report "never" using literature; but that figure is only 10 percent greater, 16.9 percent, among Democratic chairmen sixty-six to eighty-one years old and there is little difference among the other age categories. Similarly, for the Republican chairmen, the difference is even smaller, 9.5 percent of those twenty-two to thirty-five report "never" distributing literature compared to 4.1 percent of the

Table 3-2

Chi-Square Statistics between Demographic Variables
and Campaign Activity Variables

Demographic Trait	Surveys/ Polls	Press Releases	Campaign Activity ^a		
			Circulars	Radio	Literature
Education					
Democratic	8.10	13.80	4.83	3.06	2.95
Republican	7.09	10.63	5.80	7.02	2.04
Age					
Democratic	8.92	20.61	11.06	6.90	16.22 ^b
Republican	2.99	6.54	8.27	5.77	21.00 ^b
Occupation					
Democratic	13.41 ^c	21.67 ^b	20.08 ^b	20.14 ^b	18.04 ^b
Republican	9.18	17.84 ^b	17.70 ^b	10.50	25.12 ^b
Time in Office					
Democratic	11.62	9.06	6.04	6.70	10.48
Republican	4.80	5.44	3.29	3.09	8.39

^apercentages are found in Appendix B

^bsignificant at .001

^csignificant at .01

of the Republican chairmen sixty-six to eighty-one years old, with small differences across other categories.

The second notable aspect of the chi-squares is that for both the Democratic and Republican chairmen, the figures for occupational categories are appreciably and consistently larger than those for any other demographic variable. With the exception of the use of surveys or

polls by Democrats, statistically significant at .01, the remaining chi-squares are significant at .001; only for surveys or polls and the use of radio are the figures not significant at the .001 level for the Republican chairmen. More specifically, both Democratic and Republican chairmen who are farmers or farm workers are more likely to "never" use surveys or polls than are chairmen in other occupations: 66 percent among Democrats as compared with 43 percent among those employed as managers and 54 percent among the professionals, 59 percent among Republicans compared to about 45 and 42 percent, respectively, for Republican chairmen employed in managerial or professional positions. The percentage of Democratic chairmen employed as farmers or farm workers who report "never" using circulars, 19 percent, is almost three times as large as those in managerial positions, 6 percent. Among Democratic and Republican farmers or farm workers, only about one-half as many report "often" using press releases as Democratic and Republican chairmen in professional occupations. Democratic chairmen who are managers or officials are more likely, in terms of percentages, to indicate that they "often" use radio in election campaigns, 42 percent, compared to 28 percent among the farmers or farm workers. Fewer Democratic and Republican chairmen in farming occupations are likely to "often" use literature, 38 percent for the Democrats and 34 percent for the Republicans, than are Democratic or Republican chairmen who are managers or professional workers, about 56 percent in each instance.

Population and occupation. In short, chairmen of both parties employed as farmers or farm workers are less likely to report frequent use of any of the five types of campaign activity than are professionals or managers. While there is no reason to assume the occupation of

the chairmen determines the activity of the county organization, occupation may be a key to differences between counties. Farmers and farm workers are likely to be found in less populated counties, managers and professionals may tend to be found in more heavily populated counties. The data presented in Table 3-3 support this contention. The counties have been divided according to population, from the lowest to the highest 25 percent. While 18 percent of the professionals, nationwide, are found in counties with populations of 8,000 or less, that figure rises steadily from 22 percent in counties of 8,001 to 23,999 in population, 27 percent in counties with a population of 24,000 to 72,999, and finally, 32 percent in the most populated counties, those above 73,000 population. Farmers and farm workers dwindle in number as the county population increases: 47 percent in the least populous counties falling to only 6 percent in the most populated counties. Managers and officials remain essentially unchanged across all levels of population, an average of 25 percent, with the greatest deviation from that average, only 4 percent, occurring in counties of 8,000 or less population.

The national figures are mirrored in those reported by party. The percentage of professionally employed Democrats rises from 19 percent in counties of 8,000 or less population to 36 percent in the most populated counties, while Democratic farmers and farm workers fall from 47 percent to 4 percent. Among Republicans, professionals grow from 18 percent in counties of 8,000 or less to 28 percent in counties of 73,000 or above. On the other hand, farmers decrease from 47 percent in the least populated counties to 8 percent in the most populated. The implications of population as a factor in local party activity will be discussed further below in conjunction with the frequency of contacting.

Table 3-3

Chairmen's Occupational Classification by County Population
(in percents)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Population</u> (in thousands)				
	<u>8 and under</u>	<u>9 to 23</u>	<u>24 to 72</u>	<u>73 and above</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Nation</u>					
Professional, technical, kindred workers	18.4	22.4	27.0	32.2	559
Managers, officials	21.3	24.3	26.7	27.8	536
Farmers, farm workers	46.7	31.4	15.7	6.2	210
$\chi^2 = 107.70^a$					
<u>Democrats</u>					
Professional, technical, kindred workers	18.9	20.3	25.1	35.7	291
Managers, officials	18.7	26.8	28.0	26.4	246
Farmers, farm workers	46.9	35.4	13.5	4.2	96
$\chi^2 = 67.34^a$					
<u>Republicans</u>					
Professional, technical, kindred workers	17.9	24.6	29.1	28.4	268
Managers, officials	23.4	22.1	25.5	29.0	290
Farmers, farm workers	46.5	28.1	17.5	7.9	114
$\chi^2 = 48.29^a$					

^a df for all chi-squares = 6; all figures significant at .001

Attitudinal measures. For this portion of the analysis, the same five dependent variables measuring local campaign activity are cross-tabulated with the four attitudinal measures developed in Chapter Two. These attitudinal measures are a liberal-conservative dimension, attitudes toward the activity of the federal government (increase, remain-the-same, decrease), the level of government (local, state or national) with which the chairman is most concerned, and the chairman's assessment of the most important problem facing the state. The chi-square results are presented in Table 3-4.

As with the earlier results comparing demographic variables with local party activity, the chi-squares between attitudinal variables and party activity are low; excepting the differences between liberal and conservative and Democrats, to be discussed in detail below, few of the chi-squares are statistically significant. Differences between reported campaign activities of Democrats and Republicans across all activity areas are small. Indeed, the largest difference among Democratic chairmen is found in the group reporting "often" using radio between those who are most concerned with local government, 45 percent, and those most interested in the national government, 33 percent. For the Republicans, the greatest gap lies in the group "often" using press releases between those most concerned with local government, 59 percent, and those most concerned with national government, 42 percent. The remaining differences are small. Other than the liberal-conservative dimension, the greatest percentage differences are found over the activity of the federal government. Over 55 percent of those Democratic chairmen wishing a decrease in federal government activity report "never" using surveys or polls, opposed to 42 percent of those who would

Table 3-4

Chi-Square Statistics between Attitudinal Variables
and Campaign Activity Variables

Campaign Activity ^a					
<u>Attitudinal Trait</u>	<u>Surveys/ Polls</u>	<u>Press Releases</u>	<u>Circulars</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Literature</u>
<u>Liberal- Conservative</u>					
Democratic	23.03 ^b	26.34 ^b	35.27 ^b	8.01	46.78 ^b
Republican	4.08	5.52	7.05	3.95	4.50
<u>Activity of Federal Govt.</u>					
Democratic	7.53	7.05	21.14 ^b	1.78	24.67 ^b
Republican	6.28	2.78	2.47	1.67	1.63
<u>Level of Govt. Most Concerned With</u>					
Democratic	2.61	9.12	7.02	11.89	5.89
Republican	7.59	15.21	9.92	2.38	4.61
<u>Most Important Problem Facing State</u>					
Democratic	11.29	29.39 ^b	3.32	5.51	9.65 ^c
Republican	2.78	7.37	3.02	5.00	.86

^apercentages are found in Appendix C^bsignificant at .001^csignificant at .05

see such activity increase. However, the differences between those in favor of more federal activity who indicate they "often" use surveys or polls, 13.9 percent, is only 4.2 percent greater than those who report

"often" using surveys or polls but who desire a decrease in the activity of the federal government. The 14 percent of the Republican chairmen who claim "often" to use surveys but who want a decrease in national government activity exceeds by about 15 percent those Republicans who "often" use surveys or polls and wish for more federal activity. The differences within the category of federal government activity are consistent across all five campaign activities, but are greatest among Democratic chairmen over the use of literature, as reflected in the chi-square of 24.67 as well as in the percentage results that indicate 21 percent more Democrats who favor increased activity than Democrats favoring lessened activity, 66.9 to 45.6 percent, report "often" using literature.

These relatively large percentage differences probably reflect a correspondence between ranking on the liberal-conservative continuum and attitudes toward the activity of the federal government. This expectation is borne out by the data in Table 3-5, which crosstabulates the liberal-conservative dimension with attitudes toward federal government activity. Regardless of rank on the liberal-conservative dimension, large proportions of chairmen favor a decrease in federal activity. However, more than twice as many conservatives as liberals favor such a decrease, 88 percent to 40 percent. On the other hand, the percentage of liberals favoring an increase in the activity of the federal government is more than seven times the number of conservatives favoring an increase.

Impact of the liberal-conservative distinction. Turning specifically to the liberal-conservative category, the chi-squares are consistently high and statistically significant across all activities,

Table 3-5

Liberal-Conservative Dimension by Attitude Toward
Activity of the Federal Government
(in percents)

Liberal-Conservative Dimension	Federal Government Activity			
	increase	remain the same	decrease	N
Liberal	38.1	21.7	40.2	336
Middle-of-the-Road	9.5	18.5	72.0	465
Conservative	5.3	6.9	87.8	625
$\chi^2 = 287.90^a$				

^adf = 4; significant at .001

with the exception of the use of radio. Other than the campaign use of the radio, the lowest chi-square among the Democrats in the liberal-conservative category is 23.03, for surveys or polls; the highest figure is for the use of literature, 46.78. Substantial percentage differences exist between Democratic chairmen who classify themselves as liberal and those calling themselves conservatives. For example, liberal Democrats are three and one-half times more likely, in terms of percentages, to report "often" using surveys or polls than are conservative Democrats, 13.3 percent to 3.8 percent. Democratic liberals are 16.7 percent more likely to report "often" using press releases than are their conservative counterparts, while Democratic conservatives are five times more likely, in terms of percentages, to report "never" using circulars, 20 percent to 4 percent. Eleven percent more conservative Democrats than liberal Democrats claim "never" to use the radio in election campaigns, while 25 percent more liberals than

conservatives claim to "often" use literature while campaigning. On the other hand, there are only small differences between Republican chairmen who categorize themselves as liberal and those calling themselves conservatives. Even the greatest differences are small. Only 6 percent more Republican liberals than Republican conservatives report "often" using surveys or polls; there is almost no difference between conservative and liberal Republicans who report that they "often" use press releases. Only about 3 percent more conservatives say they "often" use circulars; only 9 percent more conservative Republicans say they "sometimes" use radio advertisements in campaigns. A variation from this pattern exists in the use of literature. There, 16 percent more conservative than liberal Republicans report "sometimes" using literature. However, only 12 percent more liberal Republican chairmen than conservative Republican chairmen report "often" using literature and only 4 percent more liberals say they "never" use literature in campaigning.

That the distinction between Democratic liberals and Democratic conservatives is the consequence of genuine differences between liberals and conservatives and not solely the result of being a Democrat is shown by the figures presented in Table 3-6. Large and statistically significant differences exist between liberals and conservatives, regardless of party. These differences are larger than those between the parties themselves. Almost 9 percent more conservatives than liberals report "never" using surveys or polls; nearly 14 percent more liberals than conservatives say they "often" use press releases, 59 percent to 45 percent; 10 percent more liberals than conservatives say they "often" use circulars; 8 percent more conservatives than liberals

Table 3-6

Campaign Activity by Liberal-Conservative
Categorization and by Party
(in percents)

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Surveys/Polls</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Liberal	14.0	43.6	42.4	328
Middle-of-Road	13.0	41.2	45.9	447
Conservative	12.2	36.5	51.3	556
	df = 4		$\chi^2 = 7.14$	

<u>Party</u>				
Democratic	11.0	39.2	49.8	653
Republican	14.5	41.0	44.6	725
	df = 2		$\chi^2 = 5.45$	

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Press Releases</u>			
Liberal	58.8	35.1	6.1	345
Middle-of-Road	48.1	45.1	6.8	470
Conservative	45.1	45.6	9.3	592
	df = 4		$\chi^2 = 18.67^a$	

<u>Party</u>				
Democratic	51.1	40.2	8.8	697
Republican	47.7	45.3	7.0	768
	df = 4		$\chi^2 = 4.50$	

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Circulars</u>			
Liberal	56.1	39.3	4.6	346
Middle-of-Road	50.6	42.2	7.2	474
Conservative	46.2	44.2	9.2	597
	df = 4		$\chi^2 = 12.69^b$	

<u>Party</u>				
Democratic	48.8	42.0	9.2	703
Republican	51.2	42.4	6.3	773
	df = 2		$\chi^2 = 4.48$	

Table 3-6 (continued)

	<u>Radio</u>			
<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Liberal	36.3	44.5	19.2	344
Middle-of-Road	38.9	39.5	21.6	463
Conservative	32.4	40.8	26.7	595
	df = 4		$\chi^2 = 10.44^c$	
<u>Party</u>				
Democratic	36.4	42.3	21.4	693
Republican	35.3	40.0	24.6	767
	df = 2		$\chi^2 = 2.26^b$	
	<u>Literature</u>			
<u>Attitude</u>				
Liberal	62.6	32.8	4.6	348
Middle-of-Road	52.2	42.2	5.5	469
Conservative	49.2	43.3	7.6	594
	df = 4		$\chi^2 = 17.90^a$	
<u>Party</u>				
Democratic	53.8	38.2	8.0	701
Republican	53.3	42.3	4.4	771
	df = 2		$\chi^2 = 9.20^b$	

^asignificant at .001

^bsignificant at .01

^csignificant at .05

report "never" using the radio while campaigning; but 13.4 percent more liberals than conservatives say they "often" use literature, 62.6 percent to 49.2 percent.

Between the parties themselves differences are small over each of the dependent activity variables. In only two instances, the use of radio and the use of literature in campaigning, does the chi-square

obtain statistical significance; even there, however, the greatest percentage difference between the organizations of the Democratic and Republican chairmen reporting they "never" use radio advertisements is only 3.2 percent, 24.6 percent of the Republican chairmen reporting they "never" use radio advertisements as opposed to 21.4 percent of the Democratic chairmen. For the use of literature, the figures are similar: only 4 percent more Democrats than Republicans say they "never" use literature; almost identical percentages, 53.8 percent among Democrats and 53.3 percent among Republicans, say they "often" use it.

Why such wide differences should exist between liberal Democrats and conservative Democrats merits consideration, particularly in light of the muted differences between Republican liberals and Republican conservatives. If political attitude itself were an adequate explanation for the activity differences, it would be anticipated that liberals and conservatives would behave similarly, regardless of party. As this is not the case, explanations must be sought elsewhere.

In examining the percentage differences between liberal and conservative Democrats over each of the five party activity areas, the liberal Democratic chairmen report greater campaign activity than do the conservative Democratic chairmen. This is true if only the "often" category is examined or if the "often" responses are combined with the "sometimes" responses. As for the Republicans, while the differences between the liberal Republican chairmen and the conservative chairmen are very small, the liberal Republicans still exceed the conservative Republican chairmen in the percentage of "often" responses in four of the five activity areas. The one exception is the distribution of

circulars, where the conservatives surpass the liberals by less than 3 percent. Liberals of both parties are more active across the categories of party campaign activity.

Population and the liberal-conservative distinction. An explanation as to why the liberals are more active is found in the five activities themselves. Each of them, surveys or polls, press releases, the distribution of circulars and literature, and the use of radio, is most easily and efficiently employed in highly populated counties. Press releases are most worthwhile in reaching large numbers of people and in establishing candidate name recognition, neither of which may be as necessary in a rural or less populated environment. The distribution of circulars and literature is more easily accomplished in areas of greater population density; distance between homes, offices, and, specifically, people, is smaller; less time is spent traveling between potential voters, and more time is spent in contacting voters. The two activity areas that may constitute exceptions to this generalization, the use of surveys or polls and the use of radio, are also the two activities that show the smallest differences between liberals and conservatives, as already reported in Table 3-6. The average difference between liberals and conservatives over "often" using press releases, circulars, or literature is 12.3 percent. For the use of surveys or polls, there is a difference of 1.8 percent and for the use of radio in campaigns the difference is 3.9 percent. These exceptions are probably the result of the high cost of polling and radio advertisements, especially in the case of radio, since costs are determined by the size of the audience--a calculation that may prove particularly costly when a county with a relatively low population borders a county with greater

population; thus, for a local contest, the party would pay to reach large numbers of voters ineligible to vote in the county.

In light of the differing utilities involved for populated and less populated counties in using the five campaign activities considered here, and given the higher activity rates of the liberals vis-a-vis the conservatives of both parties, it is reasonable to expect liberals would be found in more populous counties and conservatives in less populous counties. The data presented in Table 3-7 bear out this expectation. Using the division of counties by population already established, the figures indicate that a far greater percentage of liberals are found in the more populated counties. While 25 percent of the liberals are in counties of under 8,000 population, 33 percent are in counties with a population of 73,000 or more. Those chairmen calling themselves middle-of-the-road are evenly distributed across all categories of population. Both parties mirror the national figures. Among Democrats, 24 percent of the liberals are found in counties of 8,000 or less population, but almost 33 percent are found in counties with populations in excess of 73,000. Conversely, the percentage of Democratic conservatives falls from 27 percent in the least populous counties to only 11 percent in the most populous. Republican liberals show the smallest differences between the two population extremes, only 5 percent, but conservative Republicans decline from 27.1 percent to 19 percent over the population range.

To summarize the argument thus far: both the demographic variable of occupation and the attitudinal variable of liberal-conservative categorization are associated with differences in the activity of local party organizations. However, both of these variables also

Table 3-7

Liberal-Conservative Categorization by Population
of County by Party and Region
(in percents)

<u>Liberal-Conservative Region/Party</u>	<u>Population (in thousands)</u>				<u>N</u>
	<u>8 and under</u>	<u>9 to 23</u>	<u>24 to 72</u>	<u>73 and above</u>	
<u>Nation</u>					
Liberal	25.2	22.2	19.2	33.3	369
Middle-of-Road	22.3	22.1	28.0	27.6	493
Conservative	27.2	28.6	27.0	17.2	644
$\chi^2 = 43.65^a$					
<u>Democrats</u>					
Liberal	24.1	22.5	20.4	32.8	329
Middle-of-Road	22.2	24.5	28.8	24.5	257
Conservative	27.3	34.5	27.3	10.8	139
$\chi^2 = 30.05^a$					
<u>Republican</u>					
Liberal	32.5	20.0	10.0	37.5	40
Middle-of-Road	22.5	19.5	27.1	30.9	236
Conservative	27.1	26.9	26.9	19.0	505
$\chi^2 = 23.40^a$					

^adf for all chi-squares = 6; significant at .001

correspond to the population of the county, farmers and farm workers are found in less populous counties while managerial and professional occupations are more heavily represented in more heavily populated counties; conservatives are more apt to be found in counties with less population, but liberals are more likely to be found in counties with

greater population. Moreover, while there is no apparent reason that demographic and attitudinal variables should be associated with county party activity, the population of the county can be connected to county activity by considering the utility of the activities for the local party organization; the activities considered here are more useful in more populated counties.

Population and party activity. The final step in this section of the analysis is to examine the relationship between the activity areas and the county population. If, in fact, population makes a difference in the kinds of activity carried out by the county organizations, these differences should be evident across different levels of population.

As Table 3-8 indicates, the frequency of reported activity does differ in counties with differing populations. The lowest chi-square, for the use of press releases, is 57.16, while the highest, for the use of radio in campaigns, is 206.35; all are statistically significant at .001. The percent differences are persuasive. While only 16 percent of the chairmen in counties of 8,000 or fewer population report "often" using surveys or polls, over 46 percent report "often" using them in counties of 73,000 and above population, a difference of 36 percent. Thirty percent of those reporting no use of surveys or polls are in the least populated counties. The frequent use of press releases expands from 22 percent in lightly populated counties to 34 percent in heavily populated counties; figures for the use of circulars parallel those for press releases. In the least populous counties, radio is used frequently by only 10 percent of the chairmen, while in the same counties 51 percent report "never" using radio. The percentage of those "often" using radio increases steadily across the

Table 3-8
 Campaign Activity by County Population
 (in percents)

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Population (in thousands)</u>				
	<u>8 and under</u>	<u>9 to 23</u>	<u>24 to 72</u>	<u>73 and above</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Survey/Polls</u>					
Often	16.4	14.7	22.0	46.9	177
Sometimes	19.9	19.5	25.7	34.9	533
Never	29.8	29.5	26.9	13.9	648
$\chi^2 = 118.92^a$					
<u>Press Releases</u>					
Often	21.6	20.5	24.1	33.8	722
Sometimes	24.8	26.4	29.0	19.7	628
Never	36.5	32.2	18.3	13.0	115
$\chi^2 = 57.16$					
<u>Circulars</u>					
Often	22.6	18.4	25.3	33.7	739
Sometimes	25.8	28.7	25.5	19.9	623
Never	31.6	29.8	28.1	10.5	114
$\chi^2 = 57.49$					
<u>Radio</u>					
Often	10.5	24.5	31.5	33.5	523
Sometimes	20.5	24.5	28.5	26.5	600
Never	51.0	22.3	13.1	13.6	337
$\chi^2 = 206.35$					
<u>Literature</u>					
Often	23.0	18.1	24.1	34.8	788
Sometimes	25.3	30.5	26.8	17.5	594
Never	32.2	33.3	25.6	8.9	90
$\chi^2 = 78.34$					

^adf for all chi-squares = 6; all figures significant at .001

categories of population until, in those counties with the greatest populations, almost 34 percent report "often" using radio in campaigning. On the other hand, the number "never" using radio declines from a high of 51 percent to a low of less than 14 percent in the most heavily populated counties. The percentage of those chairmen who say they "often" use literature moves from 23 percent in the less populated counties to 35 percent in the most populated counties, while the percentage of those chairmen who "never" use literature declines from 32 percent to 9 percent.

Thus, while both self-ranking on a liberal-conservative scale and occupation are associated with distinctions in the campaign activity of local organizations, a more satisfactory explanation for the differences lies in the population of the county, since population mandates the selection of different kinds of campaign activity--the activities considered here being more or less appropriate in counties of greater or lesser population.

Characteristics of the Chairmen and Frequency of Contacts

Demographic measures. A last set of comparisons must be made between the demographic and attitudinal variables and the measures of inter-party communication, contacts between the county chairmen and public and party officials. As noted earlier, these contacts represent the communications network that exists within the party organization, distinct from the election activities that are the party's contacts with the electorate. Table 3-9 presents the chi-square results comparing the chairmen's demographic traits with the reported frequency of contacts between the chairmen and the governor, state legislators,

Table 3-9

Chi-Square Statistics between Demographic Variables
and Frequency of Contact

<u>Demographic Trait</u>	<u>Contact with^a</u>					
	<u>Governor</u>	<u>State Legis.</u>	<u>Congress- men</u>	<u>U.S. Sen- ators</u>	<u>St./Pty. Chairmen</u>	<u>Other Chairmen</u>
<u>Education</u>						
Democratic	9.17	15.27	23.44 ^c	13.36	11.09	11.36
Republican	17.56	5.62	6.13	9.22	8.00	12.46
<u>Age</u>						
Democratic	24.98 ^c	10.27	17.11	16.84	14.16	10.86
Republican	22.70 ^c	7.00	17.22	15.05	14.50	14.83
<u>Occupation</u>						
Democratic	12.78	6.90	16.08	8.13	6.44	6.00
Republican	12.83	2.18	7.20	5.40	3.15	12.46
<u>Time-in-Office</u>						
Democratic	4.86	2.64	7.58	6.57	8.98	12.32
Republican	11.25	5.59	9.73	27.56 ^b	10.71	12.67

^apercentages are found in Appendix D

^bsignificant at .001

^csignificant at .01

congressmen, U.S. senators, state party chairmen, and other county party chairmen on party business. Few of the chi-squares are statistically significant, and no pattern appears in the figures. The chi-squares obtain statistical significance in only three instances: for chairmen

of both parties over contacts with the state's governors when the chairmen are grouped by age; between Democratic chairmen and contacts with congressmen, when broken down by education; and between Republican chairmen and contacts with U.S. senators based on time-in-office of the chairmen.

Regarding contacts with the state's governor, in both parties the frequency of reported contacts increases with the chairman's age. Only 16 percent of the Democrats ages twenty-two to thirty-five report "often" contacting the state's governor on party business, but that figure rises to 25 percent among those Democratic chairmen sixty-six years old or older. Among Republicans, 10 percent of those twenty-two to thirty-five say they "often" contact the governor, but that figure more than doubles, 21.4 percent, among those above sixty-five years old. Similarly, for the chairmen of both parties, the incidence of "never" responses decreases with the chairmen's age.

The frequency of "often" and "sometimes" responses by the chairmen with regard to contacting the governor are generally lower in the two highest age classifications, fifty-one to sixty-five and sixty-six to eighty-six, than they are for any other office, public or private. In all other offices, an average of nearly 78 percent of Democratic and Republican chairmen above age fifty-one report "often" or "sometimes" contacting public or party officers on party business; for governor, the figure is less than 57 percent. Moreover, differences by age are not as apparent in reported contacts for offices other than governor. While, on the average, 71 percent of the chairmen from ages twenty-two to fifty report "often" or "sometimes" contacting across all categories except that of governor (7 percent fewer than those fifty-one years old

or older), the average for those chairmen below age fifty-one who "often" or "sometimes" contact the governor is 40 percent, 17 percent less than those above fifty-one years of age. The figures indicate that contacting the governor is more clearly associated with age than is contacting any other official.

High levels of contacts between the county chairmen and state chairmen or the county chairmen and other county chairmen are not remarkable, given the probable mutuality of interests; congressmen and U.S. senators, because of distances both geographic and social, may make special efforts to facilitate communication with the county chairmen as a source of political information and support; the high turnover rate and low public visibility of state legislators would probably encourage large numbers of contacts in an effort to build and solidify support for campaign efforts. On the other hand, inability to succeed themselves in office, limited influence upon state legislative elections, and, in many states, dispersal and consequent dilution of executive power among elected members of a state cabinet perhaps contribute to the smaller incidence of reported contacts made between county chairmen and the governor.

Other differences are also apparent. Between Democratic chairmen and contacts with congressmen when the chairmen are classified by education, almost twice as many Democratic chairmen, in terms of percentages, with less than a high school education report "often" contacting congressmen than do Democratic chairmen with at least a college education, 43 percent to 22 percent. Similarly, relatively larger differences exist between Republicans and contacts with U.S. senators when the chairmen are divided by time-in-office. While just under 54 percent

of the Republican chairmen in office two years or less say they "often" or "sometimes" contact senators, almost 69 percent of them in office five years or more make the same claims, a difference of nearly 15 percent.

Attitudinal measures. As Table 3-10 shows, attitudinal variables make few distinctions in the frequency of contact. In the liberal-conservative category and in attitudes toward the activity of the federal government, the chi-squares between Democratic chairmen and contacts with state party chairmen and other county chairmen are statistically significant and the percentage differences relatively large. More liberal than conservative Democratic chairmen report "often" or "sometimes" contacting state party chairmen, 86 to 74 percent. Similarly, 10 percent more Democrats who favor an increase in the activity of the federal government than Democrats favoring a decrease report "often" or "sometimes" contacting the state party chairmen. Figures for contacts with other county chairmen reflect those for contacts with state chairmen. Almost 79 percent of Democratic liberals report "often" or "sometimes" contacting other county chairmen on party business, but only 65 percent of the Democratic chairmen who call themselves conservative report contacting with the same levels of frequency. Again, 86 percent of the Democratic chairmen favoring an increase in federal government activity say they "often" or "sometimes" contact other party chairmen, but less than 74 percent of those who wish a decrease in the activity of the national government, 12 percent fewer, report contacting with the same frequency. These figures may represent a greater willingness of liberal Democrats to participate in a party that is skewed in the direction of liberals, as Table 2-3 reported,

Table 3-10

Chi-Square Statistics between Attitudinal Variables
and Frequency of Contact

Variable	Contact with ^a					
	Governor	State Legis.	Congressmen	U.S. Senators	St. Pty. Chairmen	Other Chairmen
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>						
Democratic	10.06	11.40	6.04	12.20	16.25 ^c	16.38 ^c
Republican	13.03	20.06 ^c	7.45	7.96	5.69	1.90
<u>Activity of Federal Govt.</u>						
Democratic	4.08	10.58	7.51	2.57	16.24 ^c	23.79 ^b
Republican	9.92	5.72	5.30	10.12	6.09	5.43
<u>Level of Govt. Most Concerned</u>						
Democratic	6.42	6.72	2.74	18.53	9.35	6.92
Republican	19.55 ^c	35.72 ^b	2.06	5.54	4.34	5.26
<u>Most Important Problem Facing State</u>						
Democratic	8.45	4.55	5.20	6.83	10.84	8.95
Republican	24.65	9.03	8.52	6.40	7.53	2.66

^apercentages are found in Appendix E^bsignificant at .001^csignificant at .01

while at the same time reflecting a reluctance on the part of conservatives to participate as fully.

Among Republicans, the chi-squares indicate greater divisions within the party over contacts with state government officials, the governor,

and state legislators. When divided by the level of government with which they are most concerned, the chi-squares for Republican chairmen and contacting the governor is 19.55, for contacts with state legislators, 35.72; over the liberal-conservative dimension, the figure between Republican chairmen and contacting of state legislators is 20.06. All of these figures are statistically significant; but in the first two cases, contacts with the governor and with state legislators by level of government with which the chairmen feel most concerned, they tend to magnify smaller percentage differences. For instance, while two times as many Republicans with local government as their major concern indicate "often" contacting the governor as Republicans concerned with national government, 14 percent to 7 percent, when the categories of "often" and "sometimes" are combined, the difference shrinks to a less substantial 7 percent. The figures do indicate, however, a greater willingness among Republicans most concerned with state government to contact the governor on party business.

In contacts with state legislators, 77 percent of the Republican chairmen most concerned with local government maintain they "often" or "sometimes" contact these state officials, compared to 73 percent of those Republican chairmen most concerned with national government. Once again, Republicans most concerned with state government, 83 percent, report "often" or "sometimes" contacting state legislators on party business. Larger differences appear among Republicans when divided along the liberal-conservative continuum over contacts with state legislators. Over 62 percent of the liberals report "often" contacting state legislators compared to 41 percent of the conservatives; when combined with the "sometimes" responses, the figures are 92 to

77 percent. Middle-of-the-road Republicans fall between the conservatives and the liberals with 86 percent contacting state legislators "often" or "sometimes."

These figures, in conjunction with the figures comparing the impact of the demographic and attitudinal variables, have implications for the understanding of local party activity. They do not tend to substantiate the speculation made in the literature of county party chairmen that the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of the chairmen will have an impact upon the activity of the county organization, at least as the activity of the local organizations has been measured here: in terms of electorally oriented activity. The demographic and attitudinal variables do appear to make a difference in the organization's electoral activities in the case of occupation or liberal-conservative attitudes; however, theoretical explanations as well as the empirical evidence appear to indicate otherwise--in the case of occupation or liberal-conservative beliefs, the appropriateness of the activity in regard to the county's population seems to make a larger difference. The next chapter establishes the framework for a move away from demographic and attitudinal traits, toward an examination of the chairmen's political orientations and the impact of those orientations upon local party activity.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ATTITUDINAL STRUCTURE OF AMATEUR AND PROFESSIONAL CHAIRMAN

The publication in 1968 of The Amateur Democrat by James Q. Wilson sparked interest in a new development in American politics: amateur political activists who participate in politics not in the expectation of any direct material reward but because they find politics intrinsically interesting. The amateur differs from the professional who is more concerned with the politics of winning elections.

This chapter considers the amateur-professional division among the county party chairmen. The chairmen will be divided along amateur-professional lines, then examined by demographic characteristics and political ambitions. This examination becomes the basis for exploring, in Chapter Five, the connection between amateurs, professionals, and party activity.

The evidence is mounting that citizens now participate in politics by holding office and that they manage to retain an amateur point of view despite office-holding (Hitlin and Jackson, 1977). It is possible the amateur now participates in the party organization itself; recent evidence is found in studies of national party convention delegates (Hitlin and Jackson, 1977; Roback, 1975). Whether the amateur-professional distinction exists among county party chairmen is the aspect of local party organization this chapter examines.

Previous research takes as a starting point Wilson's definitions of amateur and professional. Amateurs are more concerned with ideals and principles than with power, while the professional is mainly interested in winning elections and less concerned with issues or ideology.

The county chairmen were asked a series of questions that tap the amateur-professional dimension by probing the chairmen's attitudes toward the party hierarchy, their attitudes toward issues and ideology, and their view of the role of issues and ideology in local party politics. Specifically, the questions were whether the chairmen felt an obligation (1) to follow party leaders, (2) to give patronage positions to party supporters, (3) to weigh prior party service in selecting a candidate, (4) to pick a candidate with issue commitments, (5) to keep public officials accountable to the party, and (6) to hold personal beliefs. Possible responses to each question ranged over a five-place continuum from "strong obligation to do," "some obligation to do," "no obligation," "some obligation to avoid," to a "strong obligation to avoid." These responses are assigned a value ranging from zero to four with "strong obligation to do" assigned the upper value, four. Following Richard Hofstetter (1971), I have factor analyzed the six questions. The results of this factor analysis are presented in Table 4-1.

Earlier analysis has indicated that amateur-professionalism may not fall upon a single dimension. Thomas Roback, for example, in examining delegates to the 1972 Republican Convention finds, after factor analysis, that two dimensions resulted: (1) a procedural-organization dimension and (2) a principles-participation dimension (1975). Richard Hofstetter earlier arrived at similar conclusions by factor analysis of

Table 4-1

Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix of
Amateur-Professional Perceptions

Question	Factor	
	Procedural	Issue Participation
Follow decisions of party leaders	.46	.30
Give patronage help to party workers	.64	.18
Weigh prior service in selecting nominee	.74	.10
Select nominee with issue commitments	.14	.76
Keep public officials accountable to party	.68	.10
Hold personal beliefs	.18	.75
Percent total variance:	16.80	12.80

questions designed to tap the distinction between amateur and professional: he labeled the factors (1) procedural and (2) issue-participation. The procedural dimension "taps norms about party procedure--accountability to the organization, nomination of candidates, patronage, and discipline" (1971, p. 41). The second factor, the issue-participation factor, "taps norms about commitment to issues, intensity of personal belief, discussion of issues, participation and the role of the formal party organization in nominations (juxtaposed against the role of individuals or action groups) . . ." (p. 41). The figures in Table 4-1 mirror these results. Two of the questions, the degree of obligation to select a nominee with issue commitments and the degree of obligation to hold personal beliefs, load heavily upon the second factor, issue-participation. Of the four remaining questions,

only one, the extent of obligation to follow decisions of party leaders, loads on the first factor, procedural, at less than .50. The remaining three questions, the extent of a feeling of obligation to give patronage help to party workers, weigh prior service in selecting a nominee, and keep public officials accountable to the party, all load on the procedural factor at more than .60. Because the question tapping obligation to follow decisions of party leaders is only .04 less than the cutoff point for loading on the first factor, and because it is theoretically justifiable in light of earlier research, I have included the question in the procedural dimension. For clarity in presentation, because of limitations in the county chairmen survey (specifically, the lack of information on inter-party activities of the chairmen), and for conformity with earlier research on amateurism, subsequent analysis in this chapter will deal only with the procedural dimension of the amateur character; this is the approach adopted by Roback (1975). Responses to the four questions that fall in the procedural dimension were summed to produce an additive index for each chairman ranging from zero, indicating all responses were "obligation to avoid," to a score of 16, indicating all responses to the four questions were "strong obligation to do." Thus, the lower the score, the more deeply rooted the amateur convictions, the higher the score, the more professional the chairman's convictions.

The scores were trichotomized into amateur, semi-professional, and professional. This division yields 133 amateurs (8.3 percent), 781 semiprofessionals (48.6 percent) and 598 professionals (37.2 percent). While skewed in the direction of professionals, the results correspond favorably with those of earlier studies (Hitlin and Jackson, 1977;

Soule and McGarth, 1975). The remainder of this chapter deals with an analysis of the county chairmen divided along the amateur-professional dimension.

The demographic variables for the first portion of this analysis are those examined in earlier research: level of education, age, time-in-office, and sex. Statistical research has confirmed Wilson's observation that amateurs are, for the most part, ". . . young, well-educated professional people, including a large number of women" (1968). Soule and McGarth reach similar conclusions in their examination of delegates to the 1968 and 1972 Democratic Conventions, and Roback reports a like profile of amateurs at the 1972 Republican Convention (Soule and McGarth, 1975; Roback, 1975). The data presented in Table 4-2 reflect these findings for the county chairmen. Amateur chairmen are better educated than semiprofessionals or professionals: 63 percent of the amateurs report having a college degree or having done postgraduate work, compared to 54 percent of the semiprofessionals and 51 percent of the professionals. Among delegates to the 1974 Democratic Midterm Convention, Hitlin and Jackson report 76 percent of the amateurs as college graduates or holding advanced degrees, compared to 54 percent of the professionals (1977). The figures also indicate amateurs are more likely to be younger than the more professionally-oriented chairmen. More than 25 percent of the amateurs, but two-thirds fewer professionals, only 8 percent, are between ages twenty-two and thirty-five. The semiprofessionals fall between the amateurs and professionals; 14 percent are ages twenty-two to thirty-five. While 31 percent of the amateurs are fifty-one years old or older, 46 percent of the professionally-oriented chairmen are above age fifty-one. Among

Table 4-2

Amateur, Semi-Professional, and Professional
by Demographic Traits
(in percents)

	Degree of Professionalism		
	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Semi-Professional</u>	<u>Professional</u>
<u>Education</u>			
None-some high school	5.3	3.5	6.4
High school	9.2	13.1	15.4
Some college	22.9	29.9	27.7
College and post-grad.	62.9	54.2	50.5
N =	131	778	596
	df = 6	$\chi^2 = 14.26$	
<u>Age</u>			
22 to 35	25.6	14.4	8.2
36 to 50	43.4	50.3	46.1
51 to 65	23.3	30.3	33.0
66 to 86	7.8	5.0	12.6
N =	129	776	594
	df = 6	$\chi^2 = 56.11^a$	
<u>Time in Office</u>			
2 years or less	43.4	46.5	35.4
3 or 4 years	27.1	24.4	25.4
5 years or more	29.5	29.0	39.2
N =	29	765	587
	df = 4	$\chi^2 = 21.15^a$	
<u>Sex</u>			
Male	89.4	91.8	94.1
Female	10.6	8.2	5.9
N =	132	781	597
	df = 2	$\chi^2 = 4.69$	

^a significant at .001

Republican delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention, Roback found "organizational longevity . . . positively related to professionalism" (1975, p. 450). The data for the county chairmen mirror the results of Soule and Clarke's examination of delegates to the 1968 Democratic Convention. They found 24 percent of the amateurs had been active two years or less and 75 percent of the professionals were active ten years or more (1970). The amateurs have also served in the office of chairmen fewer years than professionals; over 43 percent of the amateurs have been in office two years or less, compared to 35 percent of the professionals. On the other hand, while almost equal percentages of amateurs and semiprofessionals have served five years or more, 25.5 percent of the amateurs and 29 percent of the semiprofessionals, over 39 percent of the professionals have been in office for five or more years.

Finally, the data indicate women are found in slightly greater percentages among the amateurs: about 11 percent of the amateurs are women, compared to 6 percent of the professionals. The semiprofessionals fall in between, with 8 percent women.

Age differences and differences in time served in office open the door to another dimension of the attributes of the amateurism of the chairmen, their political experience and ambitions. The chairmen were asked (1) if they had ever held public office, (2) if they wished higher party office and (3) if they wished to keep their present position. It is expected that given the relative youth of the amateurs and their comparative newness to the position of county chairmen, they would be less likely to have held public office. Wishing higher party office or the desire to keep their present position is more difficult to

predict. It may be that the amateur is willing to participate in political activity--even to the extent of becoming a county chairman--only insofar as policy goals, electoral or ideological, are perceived as obtainable. There is some evidence for this argument. In their study of county political activists in Iowa, Johnson and Gibson report that despite activity as campaign workers in a primary election, 21 percent of the activists intended to bolt their party in the general election. This group included five precinct committeemen, three precinct chairmen, and one county party official: ". . . more than one-half of the bolters were, or had been, delegates to county conventions" (1974, p. 73). Of course, the amateurs may view political activity as socially or personally beneficial, may have enjoyed their political experience and have higher political aspirations. The results are presented in Table 4-3.

As predicted, the amateurs are less likely to have held public office than either the semiprofessionals or the professionals. Only 29 percent of the amateurs have held public office while 39 percent of the semiprofessionals and 48 percent of the professionals have held office. This pattern of office-holding coincides with that reported by Hitlin and Jackson for delegates to the Democratic Mid-Term Convention. They found 59 percent of the amateurs had held party office while 81 percent of the professionals had held office (1977). The difference between the chairmen and the delegates may be the consequence of delegates to the national convention having first served in the county party.

The amateurs have less desire than professionals for both higher party office or for keeping their own position. Less than 30 percent

Table 4-3

Chairmen's Ambitions by Amateur,
Semiprofessional, and Professional

<u>Ambition</u>	Degree of Professionalism (percent answering "yes")		
	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Semi- Prof.</u>	<u>Prof.</u>
Ever held public office?	29.2	38.7	47.7
N =	38	300	282
			X = 20.05 ^a
Wish higher party office?	29.7	36.7	41.0
N =	38	274	235
			X = 6.46 ^a
Wish to keep present position?	41.5	44.8	53.8
N =	51	335	302
			X = 12.72 ^a

^adf = 2; significant at .05

of them wish for higher party office, compared to 41 percent of the professionals. Only 41 percent of the amateurs (opposed to 54 percent of the professionals) want to keep their present positions. The semi-professionals fall between the amateurs and the professionals. The lesser interest of amateurs in pursuing higher party office or in maintaining their current party office may be indicative of a dissatisfaction with party politics as was the case among the Iowa activists. A final variable frequently mentioned in the literature of amateurs and professionals is the liberal-conservative dimension. While Wilson reports that Democratic clubs in California tend overwhelmingly to be liberal, he also maintains that "... it is not his liberalism . . .

that sets the new politician apart and makes him worth studying" (1968, p. 2). Yet, the studies of amateurs have consistently linked the amateur with liberal: "amateurs were much more likely to place themselves in the 'liberal' category than were the professionals," write Hitlin and Jackson (1977, p. 792). Far from indicating a liberal bent, data from the county chairmen place the amateur within the conservative category. The chairmen were asked to rank themselves on a liberal-conservative continuum ranging from very liberal to very conservative. As in Chapter Two, these categories are collapsed to liberal, middle-of-the-road, and conservative. The results are displayed in Table 4-4. Of the amateurs, 48 percent classify themselves as conservative. Forty-three percent of the professionals place themselves in the conservative category. Only 22 percent of the amateurs regard themselves as liberal, while 26 percent of the professionals so classify themselves. While these data do not correspond to the results of work done on convention delegates, they are more in line with Wilson's observation that the amateur is not solely a product of a liberal political outlook. Amateurism is a question of political "style," and not a question of liberalness. As Wildavsky has pointed out in regard to the conservative "purist" delegates to the 1964 Republican National convention:

The ideal party of the purists is not merely a conservative party; it is also a distinct and separate community of co-believers who differ with the opposition party all down the line. To this extent, their style merges with that of the liberal party reformers, described by James Wilson . . . who wish to see the parties represent clear and opposed alternatives and gain votes only through appeals on policy differences rather than on such "irrational" criteria as personality, party identification, or ethnic status. (1971, pp. 255-256)

Table 4-4

Amateur, Semiprofessional, and Professional by
 Liberal-Conservative Dimension
 (in percents)

Degree of Professionalism

<u>Liberal- Conservative</u>	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Prof.</u>
Liberal	22.3	23.6	26.3
Middle-of-the-Road	29.2	34.7	31.2
Conservative	48.5	41.8	42.5
N =	130	764	586

$$X = 4.24^a$$

^adf = 4; not significant

In their study of presidential elections, Polsby and Wildavsky reach the same conclusion: ". . . in the presence of these activists is a phenomenon which is not best seen as a matter of right vs. left, or organization vs. anti-organization, but rather in terms of political purists . . . vs. professional politicians" (1971, p. 36). In short, it is "style" that distinguishes the amateur from the professional, not liberalism. This distinction in style is seen in the attitude of amateurs and professionals toward the representative function of the legislator. The amateur, Wilson says, would control elected officials not from "external threats" typified by the mobilization of electoral majorities, but rather by "internalized convictions" that have as their object the realization of ". . . certain social policies rather than of enhancing the party's prospects for retaining power in the next election" (1968, pp. 18-19). It is anticipated, therefore, that the amateur activist would see the duty of the representative as to act in the best interest of the constituency and not, necessarily,

respond to the wishes of the constituency. The professional, concerned with winning elections, is likely to be more sensitive to the constituency's wishes.

The chairmen were asked: "In making most kinds of policy decisions, would you say that politicians ought to use their own best judgment even if this means doing something unpopular, or that politicians ought to do what a majority of their constituents want?" The responses are reported in Table 4-5. The majority of the activists, 52 percent, believe politicians should rely upon their own judgment in making policy decisions; 30 percent feel politicians should use a combination of their own judgment and that of their constituents, while 18 percent believe majority opinion should provide the guide to political action. At the other extreme, while 38 percent of the professionals think politicians should rely upon their own judgment exclusively, only 5 percent fewer, 33 percent, believe policy decisions should be made upon the preferences of the majority. The figures bear out the expectation that professionals are more sensitive to the demands of the constituency and, by implication, that most amateurs expect the politician to pursue a "correct" policy solution, not necessarily relying upon the attitudes of constituents for guidance.

Especially intriguing in these figures are the disparities among the amateurs. While the semiprofessionals and professionals array themselves evenly across the three categories, the amateurs cluster heavily--more than one-half--upon reliance upon a politician's own judgment. Yet almost 18 percent of the amateurs would rely exclusively upon the majority opinion for making policy decisions--a surprising response for the amateur activists, preoccupied with "correct" policy

Table 4-5
Attitude on Representation by Amateurism
(in percents)

<u>Legislator should rely on</u>	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Semi- prof.</u>	<u>Prof.</u>
Own judgment	52.3	41.6	38.2
Both equally	30.0	31.4	29.0
Majority opinion	17.7	24.4	32.9
N =	130	772	587
		$\chi^2 = 21.72^a$	

^adf = 4; significant at .001

choice. This 18 percent bears more extended analysis. The existence of the schism within the amateur ranks is indicative of a "fundamental problem" confronted by the amateurs: to abandon democracy for elitism or to surrender policy decisions to popular input (Wilson, 1968, pp. 344-346). The majority of the amateurs would appear to have come down on the elite side of the issue--over 50 percent maintaining politicians should rely solely on their own judgment in making policy decisions. Eighteen percent of the amateurs, however, argue the majority opinion should govern political decisions--a "majoritarian" approach. It appears, then, that amateurism is more complex than a liberal-conservative division would indicate. An analysis of the majoritarian amateurs vis-a-vis the remaining amateurs and the professionals may clarify this phenomenon.

Table 4-6 presents comparisons by demographic traits among (1) amateurs minus the majoritarians, (2) semiprofessionals, and (3) the majoritarians. Since the number of majoritarians is small (N = 22), the categories of education, age, and time-in-office have been collapsed.

Table 4-6

Amateur, Professional, Majoritarian
by Demographic Traits
(in percents)

Degree of Professionalism

	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Majoritarian</u>
<u>Education</u>			
None-high school	11.3	21.8	31.8
Some college	20.8	27.7	31.8
College and post-grad.	67.9	50.5	36.4
N =	106	596	22
	df = 4		$\chi^2 = 14.36^a$
<u>Age</u>			
22 to 50	69.2	54.4	68.2
51 to 86	30.8	45.6	31.8
N =	104	594	22
	df = 2		$\chi^2 = 9.13^a$
<u>Time in Office</u>			
2 to 4 years	74.3	60.8	47.6
5 years or more	25.7	39.2	52.4
N =	105	587	21
	df = 2		$\chi^2 = 8.90^a$
<u>Sex</u>			
Male	89.7	94.1	86.4
Female	10.3	5.9	13.6
N =	107	597	22
	df = 2		$\chi^2 = 4.52$

^asignificant at .01

Despite the loss of some variability, differences between the groups are still apparent. For example, the majoritarians are three times as likely, in terms of percentages, to have only a high school education or less than are the remaining amateurs, 32 percent to 11 percent. The amateurs are 17 percent more likely to have a college education or post-graduate work, 68 percent, than professionals, 51 percent, but far more likely than the majoritarians, who report only 36 percent with a college education or greater. Distinctions between amateurs and majoritarians over age are negligible, 69.2 percent of the amateurs are below age fifty-one with 68.2 percent of the majoritarians in the same category. Both of these groups, however, differ from the professionals, where only 54 percent are under age fifty-one and nearly 46 percent are above age fifty.

Larger differences are noticeable when the chairmen are compared over the time they have served in office. While 75 percent of the amateurs and 61 percent of the professionals have served two to four years, only 48 percent of the majoritarians have served five years or less. Conversely, more than one-half the majoritarians, 52 percent, have served five years or more, in contrast to 25 percent of the amateurs. There is little distinction between amateurs and majoritarians regarding sex; only 3.6 percent more majoritarians are women.

To complete the comparisons among amateurs, professionals, and majoritarians, Table 4-7 presents the distribution of amateurs by the liberal-conservative dimension. While not statistically significant, the figures indicate the greatest portion of the majoritarians classify themselves as conservatives, over 69 percent, compared to 44 percent among the remaining amateurs and 43 percent among professionals. In

Table 4-7

Amateur, Professional, and Majoritarian by
 Liberal-Conservative Dimension
 (in percents)

<u>Liberal- Conservative</u>	Degree of professionalism		
	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Majori- tarian</u>
Liberal	26.2	26.3	4.3
Middle-of-the-Road	29.9	31.2	26.1
Conservative	43.9	42.5	69.6
N =	107	586	23

$$X = 8.14^a$$

^adf = 4; not significant

fact, only 4 percent of the majoritarians call themselves liberal, opposed to about 26 percent of both amateurs and professionals.

A number of conclusions may be drawn from the preceding analysis. Amateurs are not unidimensional: among the amateurs there are distinctions in attitudes over the function of the representative. Some believe the politicians should use their best judgment in representing their constituency, others that the politician should follow the dictates of the constituency. This second group, the majoritarians, differ from other amateurs in demographic as well as attitudinal characteristics, as well as differing from professionals. This finding implies that amateurs must be treated as a more complex phenomenon than they have been in the past. In addition, the results indicate the amateur oriented chairmen somewhat better educated, younger, and newer to the job of chairman than their semiprofessional or professional counterparts. The amateurs are also less likely to have held public office than semiprofessionals or professionals, and less likely to want higher

public office. Contrary to the results reported by other studies of amateurism, the amateur-oriented chairmen are not more likely than professionals to classify themselves as liberals.

The differences in demographic and attitudinal traits, and, in particular, the liberal-conservative classification and the existence of a majoritarian subset among the amateurs, emphasize the differences in style between amateurs and professionals. That difference is examined in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

LOCAL PARTY ACTIVITY AND THE AMATEUR-PROFESSIONAL DIMENSION

Chapter Four examined the amateur and professional chairmen by looking at their demographic and attitudinal differences or similarities. This chapter continues the examination of the amateur-professional phenomenon among the county chairmen by focusing upon the connection between the amateur, semiprofessional, or professional status of chairmen and their local party campaign activity and, second, the frequency of contacts between chairmen and various government and party officials.

The different orientations of amateurs and professionals may produce different levels of campaign activity. Amateurs are concerned primarily with issues and only secondarily with winning elections. "The belief in compromise and bargaining; the sense that public policy is made in small steps rather than in big leaps; the concern with conciliating the opposition and broadening public appeal; and the willingness to bend a little to capture public support are all characteristic of the traditional politics in the U.S." (Wildavsky, 1971, p. 254). The amateur diverges from traditional politics: concerns for compromise, cementing electoral coalitions, and placating the opposition, give way to an emphasis upon issues to the exclusion of traditional political values. Obtaining political power is not the

chief goal of the amateur. Eldersveld reports that 78 percent of the precinct leaders who were involved in party activity for personal reasons--such as securing a job--were power-oriented; 70 percent of the precinct leaders who were involved for personal social rewards were power-oriented; but, only 44 percent of the precinct leaders with ideological concerns were motivated chiefly by hope of obtaining political power (1964). It is expected, then, that the amateurs would be less energetic than the professionals in the use of campaign activity.

Table 5-1 presents a comparison of amateurs, semiprofessionals, and professionals across the reported frequency of using the five campaign activities developed in Chapter Three. All of the results are statistically significant. Across all five activities, the percent of professionals reporting "often" using any particular activity exceeds the percent of amateurs, while the percent of semiprofessionals falls between amateurs and professionals. Among professionals, 16 percent say they "often" use surveys or polls in campaigning, but only 8 percent of the amateurs report "often" using surveys or polls. While 42 percent of the amateurs say they "often" use press releases, more than half the professionals, 56 percent, report the same use; over half the professionals, 57 percent, maintain they "often" use circulars, opposed to 41 percent of the amateurs; 43 percent of the professionals say they "often" use radio in campaigning, but only 29 percent of the amateurs make the same estimate; finally, while 40 percent of the amateurs claim to "often" use literature, over 60 percent of the professionals say they "often" distribute literature in campaigns. Indeed, the reported frequency of campaign activity among the professional chairmen continues to exceed that of the amateurs when "often" responses are

Table 5-1

Amateur, Semi-Professional
by Campaign Activity
(in percents)

<u>Amateur- Professional</u>	<u>Surveys/Polls</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Amateur	7.7	35.9	56.4	117
Semi-Professional	11.2	40.4	48.4	698
Professional	16.3	40.7	43.0	528
	df = 4 $\chi^2 = 13.67^b$			
	<u>Press Releases</u>			
Amateur	42.3	46.3	11.4	123
Semi-Professional	45.6	46.7	7.7	741
Professional	55.5	37.2	7.4	557
	df = 4 $\chi^2 = 16.83^b$			
	<u>Circulars</u>			
Amateur	41.0	45.9	13.1	122
Semi-Professional	46.4	44.3	9.3	742
Professional	56.8	38.8	4.4	570
	df = 4 $\chi^2 = 27.35^a$			
	<u>Radio</u>			
Amateur	28.5	37.4	34.1	123
Semi-Professional	31.3	43.4	25.3	738
Professional	43.0	39.0	18.0	556
	df = 4 $\chi^2 = 30.32^a$			
	<u>Literature</u>			
Amateur	39.7	47.1	13.2	121
Semi-Professional	50.1	43.5	6.3	744
Professional	60.8	34.9	4.3	558
	df = 4 $\chi^2 = 31.72^a$			

^a significant at .001

^b significant at .01

combined with the "sometimes" responses. The smallest difference after combining categories is 4.1 percent in favor of the professionals. For each activity, the amateurs are more likely to report "never" using the activity in campaigning. These figures tend to bear out the expectation that those chairmen at the amateur end of the spectrum would be less active than those more professionally oriented. The professionals, the figures seem to indicate, are ". . . preoccupied with the outcome of politics in terms of winning or losing" (Wilson, 1968, p. 4).

The majoritarian subset of the amateurs compared to the remaining amateurs and to professionals is displayed in Table 5-2. The majoritarians are less likely than the remaining amateurs or the professionals to report "often" using any of the five campaign activities. The smallest difference between amateurs and majoritarians is over the use of circulars, with 2.4 percent more amateurs than majoritarians saying they "often" use circulars in election campaigns. The differences over other activities are small: almost 3 percent fewer majoritarians than amateurs report "often" using surveys or polls, nearly 7 percent fewer claim they "often" use press releases, about 8 percent fewer "often" use radio, and 12 percent fewer report "often" using literature while campaigning. The gap between majoritarians and professionals is greater; 16 percent of the professionals "often" use polls, but only 6 percent of the majoritarians; 56 percent of the professionals say they "often" use press releases, but only 37 percent of the majoritarians, figures which are nearly the same for the use of circulars, 57 percent to 39 percent; 8 percent more professionals than majoritarians report "often" campaigning by using radio, and over 30 percent more professionals than majoritarians report "often" using literature,

Table 5-2

Amateur, Professional, and Majoritarian
by Campaign Activity
(in percents)

	<u>Surveys/Polls</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Amateur	8.1	36.4	55.6	99
Professional	16.3	40.7	43.0	528
Majoritarian	5.6	33.3	61.1	18
		df = 4	$\chi^2 = 9.36^b$	
	<u>Press Releases</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Amateur	43.3	45.2	11.5	104
Professional	55.5	37.2	7.4	557
Majoritarian	36.8	52.6	10.5	19
		df = 4	$\chi^2 = 7.88$	
	<u>Circulars</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Amateur	41.3	46.2	12.5	104
Professional	56.8	38.8	4.4	570
Majoritarian	38.9	44.4	16.7	18
		df = 4	$\chi^2 = 19.35^a$	
	<u>Radio</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Amateur	27.2	35.9	36.9	103
Professional	43.0	39.0	18.0	556
Majoritarian	35.0	45.0	20.0	20
		df = 4	$\chi^2 = 20.81^a$	
	<u>Literature</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
Amateur	41.6	45.5	12.9	101
Professional	60.8	34.9	4.3	558
Majoritarian	30.0	55.0	15.0	20
		df = 4	$\chi^2 = 26.08^a$	

^asignificant at .001

^bsignificant at .05

60.8 percent to 30 percent. The data indicate majoritarians less frequently report "often" engaging in any of the five types of campaign activity considered. Since each of these activities is designed to persuade the electorate, the majoritarians may view them as superfluous, believing the electorate is less appropriately "persuaded" than "represented." On the other hand, maximizing the chances of electoral victory, the professional's concern, may produce an enthusiasm for campaign activity.

The comparative figures for the amateurs, semiprofessionals and professionals, as well as those for the amateurs, professionals, and majoritarians seem to suggest that counties headed by amateur-oriented chairmen are less active in the campaign techniques described here. This finding coincides with the description of the amateur as less interested in winning elections than the professional. The next section of this chapter examines internal party activity, specifically, the frequency of contacts made by amateurs, semiprofessionals, and majoritarians with other party and elected officials. Contacts on matters of party business with party and elected officials demonstrate a concern with the party as an organization. Such contacts may encourage the party harmony necessary to mounting an effective campaign, coordinating party activity with other party leaders, and exhorting party members and party activists to greater levels of party activity (Patterson, 1963). In short, maintaining and participating in the communications network of the party are activities that would be more expected of professionals than of amateurs. "The purist worries about issues, while the professional worries about organization" (Sullivan et al., 1976, p. 121).

The data presented in Table 5-3 point toward these expectations. The table presents the reported frequency of contact by amateur, semi-professional, and professional chairmen with various party and public officials, officials defined in Chapter Three. All of the chi-squares are statistically significant at .001. In each case, the professional chairmen are far more likely than the amateurs and somewhat more likely than the semiprofessionals to report frequent contacts with any of the elected or party officials considered here. While 53 percent of the amateurs say they "never" contact the state's governor on party business, only 28 percent of the professionals and 39 percent of the semiprofessionals say they "never" contact the governor. Fewer than 3 percent of the amateurs say they contact state legislators "often," but six times that figure, 20.8 percent, of the professionals say they "often" contact state legislators. In terms of percentages, twice as many professionals as amateurs report "often" contacting congressmen on party business, 31.7 to 15.7 percent. By a margin of 15.5 percent, more professional than amateur chairmen report "often" contacting U.S. senators; almost 39 percent of the amateurs say they "never" contact U.S. senators, compared to only 15 percent of the professionals. Looking at party officers, professionals are also more likely to contact state chairmen or other county party chairmen than are the amateurs. More than one-half the professionals, 54.4 percent, report "often" contacting state chairmen, opposed to 43 percent among the amateurs. In each case covered in Table 5-3, semiprofessionals are found between the amateurs and the professionals in regard to "often" contacting.

Table 5-4 presents the figures for rates of contact for amateurs, professionals, and majoritarians. All chi-squares are statistically

Table 5-3

Amateur, Semi-Professional, and Professional
by Frequency of Contact
(in percents)

<u>Contact:</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Governor</u>					
Amateur	7.8	21.7	17.4	53.0	115
Semi-Professional	13.3	31.2	16.3	39.2	693
Professional	21.2	34.0	16.4	28.3	523
			$\chi^2 = 41.50^a$		
<u>State Legislators</u>					
Amateur	2.8	31.1	17.2	19.7	122
Semi-Professional	21.1	39.9	11.8	7.7	730
Professional	20.8	36.4	6.1	4.7	555
			$\chi^2 = 64.54$		
<u>Congressmen</u>					
Amateur	15.7	28.7	16.5	39.1	115
Semi-Professional	22.7	41.2	18.4	17.7	695
Professional	31.7	41.1	15.7	11.4	542
			$\chi^2 = 63.14$		
<u>U.S. Senators</u>					
Amateur	9.7	31.0	9.1	38.9	113
Semi-Professional	17.0	42.4	20.2	20.5	694
Professional	25.2	43.3	17.0	14.5	524
			$\chi^2 = 50.23$		
<u>State Chairmen</u>					
Amateur	42.9	31.7	11.1	14.3	126
Semi-Professional	45.3	39.3	10.9	4.6	746
Professional	54.4	34.7	8.5	2.5	568
			$\chi^2 = 42.77$		
<u>Other Chairmen</u>					
Amateur	25.0	35.8	20.0	19.2	120
Semi-Professional	29.5	44.2	18.1	8.2	719
Professional	37.4	43.4	13.4	5.8	553
			$\chi^2 = 37.77$		

^adf for all chi-squares = 6; all figures significant at .001

Table 5-4

Amateur, Professional, and Majoritarian
by Frequency of Contact
(in percents)

<u>Contact:</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Governor</u>					
Amateur	6.4	22.3	16.0	55.3	94
Professional	21.2	34.0	16.4	28.3	523
Majoritarian	16.7	11.1	27.8	44.4	18
			$\chi^2 = 35.16^a$		
<u>State Legislators</u>					
Amateur	32.4	31.4	17.6	18.6	102
Professional	52.8	36.4	6.1	4.7	551
Majoritarian	30.0	30.0	15.0	25.0	20
			$\chi^2 = 56.27$		
<u>Congressmen</u>					
Amateur	14.4	30.9	15.5	35.5	97
Professional	31.7	41.1	15.7	11.4	542
Majoritarian	22.2	16.7	22.2	38.9	18
			$\chi^2 = 58.52$		
<u>U.S. Senators</u>					
Amateur	9.4	32.3	20.8	37.5	96
Professional	25.2	43.3	17.0	14.5	524
Majoritarian	11.8	23.5	17.6	47.1	17
			$\chi^2 = 44.49$		
<u>State Chairmen</u>					
Amateur	44.2	30.8	10.6	14.4	104
Professional	54.4	34.7	8.5	2.5	568
Majoritarian	36.4	36.4	13.6	13.6	22
			$\chi^2 = 35.55$		
<u>Other Chairmen</u>					
Amateur	26.3	38.4	19.2	16.2	99
Professional	37.4	43.4	13.4	5.8	553
Majority	19.0	23.8	23.8	33.3	21
			$\chi^2 = 37.87$		

^adf for all chi-squares = 6; all figures significant at .001

significant at .001, and the percentage differences between groups are large. In three instances, contacts with the governor, with congressmen, and with U.S. senators, the majoritarians exceed the remaining amateurs. The governor is contacted "often" by 17 percent of the majoritarians, and by only 6 percent of the other amateur oriented chairmen; 21 percent of the professionals report "often" contacting the governor on party business. Twenty-two percent of the majoritarians, but only 14 percent of the amateurs, report "often" contacting congressmen on party business and 2.4 percent more majoritarians than amateurs report "often" contacting U.S. senators. In all other contacts, the majoritarians are surpassed by both amateurs and professionals. Contacting state legislators is done "often" by 32 percent of the amateurs and 53 percent of the professionals, but by only 30 percent of the majoritarians. While 44 percent of the amateurs and 54 percent of the professionals say they "often" contact state chairmen, 36 percent of the majoritarians report the same frequency of contact and, in contacting other chairmen, only 19 percent of the majoritarians report high levels of contact, as opposed to 37 percent of the professionals and 26 percent of the amateurs.

These figures indicate that in contacts with the offices of governors, congressmen, and U.S. senators, majoritarians surpass the remaining amateurs. When the categories of "often" and "sometimes" are collapsed, the balance of contacting shifts toward the amateurs for each of these three offices, but only by a small edge: the greatest difference between amateurs and majoritarians is in contacting U.S. congressmen, where the amateurs exceed the majoritarians by 6 percent, 45.3 percent for the amateurs and 38.9 percent for the majoritarians;

for contacts with U.S. senators the difference is 6.4 percent; for contacts with the governor, the difference drops to .9 percent.

The lower contact rate among amateurs may be less the consequence of amateurism than of relative newness to the position of county chairman. The lack of contact may reflect not a disinterest or disdain for contacting party or political officials within the party on party business, but rather a lack of capacity to make such contacts due to inexperience in the position. If this reasoning is valid, it is to be anticipated that the frequency of contacting would increase as the amateur chairmen become more comfortable in their role; a greater feeling of comfort may be expected to occur with longer time in office. To test this assumption, the chairmen were trichotomized by length of time in office--less than one year to two years, three and four years, and five years or more. This ranking is crosstabulated with the same set of variables dealing with contacts of public and party officials on party business. If time in office has an impact, it would be expected that greater time in office would be associated with increased contacts. The results are presented in Table 5-5.

The figures indicate that there is very little difference in frequency of contacts by amateurs as time in office increases. In fact, in all but one of the six potential contacts the percentage of amateurs who report "often" contacting and who have less than two years experience in the position of county chairman is greater than those with five or more years in the office. Only for contacts with congressmen do those with five or more years in office exceed those with the least tenure, and then by only 1.6 percent: 15.6 percent of the amateurs in office longest report "often" contacting congressmen as opposed to

Table 5-5

Amateur Contacting by Length of Time in Office
(in percents)

<u>Contact:</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Governor</u>					
2 years or less	11.8	17.6	19.6	51.0	51
3 or 4 years	6.1	27.3	15.2	51.5	33
5 years or more	3.3	23.3	13.3	60.0	30
				$\chi^2 = 3.61^a$	
<u>State Legislators</u>					
2 years or less	37.0	25.9	14.8	22.2	54
3 or 4 years	23.5	38.2	20.6	17.6	34
5 years or more	33.3	33.3	18.2	15.2	33
				$\chi^2 = 3.26$	
<u>Congressmen</u>					
2 years or less	14.0	28.0	16.0	42.0	50
3 or 4 years	16.1	25.8	19.4	38.7	31
5 years or more	15.6	34.4	15.6	34.4	32
				$\chi^2 = .97$	
<u>U.S. Senators</u>					
2 years or less	10.2	24.5	20.4	44.9	49
3 or 4 years	9.4	28.1	21.9	40.6	32
5 years or more	10.0	43.3	16.7	30.0	30
				$\chi^2 = 3.54$	
<u>State Chairman</u>					
2 years or less	53.7	24.1	9.3	13.0	54
3 or 4 years	44.1	32.4	8.8	14.7	34
5 years or more	25.0	44.4	16.7	13.9	36
				$\chi^2 = 8.31$	
<u>Other Chairmen</u>					
2 years or less	25.5	41.8	20.0	12.7	55
3 or 4 years	26.7	36.7	23.3	13.3	30
5 years or more	24.2	24.2	18.2	33.3	33
				$\chi^2 = 7.36$	

^adf for all chi-squares = 6

14 percent of the amateurs with less than two years experience. For governors, almost three times as many amateurs with two years of experience or less report "often" contacting as amateurs with five years of experience or more, 11.8 percent to 3.3 percent. Of the amateurs reporting that they "often" make contact with state legislators, 37 percent are relative newcomers to the office of county chairmen, while 33 percent have served in office five years or longer. The difference between amateurs with the least experience in office and amateurs with the most experience in office over contacts with U.S. senators is only .2 percent. However, twice as many amateurs in office two years or less say they "often" contact state chairmen as amateurs in office five years or more, 54 to 25 percent. In contacting other chairmen, there is little difference between the least and the most experienced chairmen, 25.5 percent of those with the briefest tenure report contacting "often" as compared to 24.2 percent of those with longest tenure. At the other end of the continuum the amateurs with the least experience exceed those with the greatest experience in reporting "never" contacting in three of the six cases: state legislators, congressmen, and U.S. senators; in "never" contacting state chairmen the difference is less than 1 percent.

These figures seem to indicate that the lower contact rate among amateurs relative to semiprofessionals and professionals is not the result of less experience in office. There is little difference in frequency of contacting between amateurs with less than two years experience and those with more than five years experience. Unlike the demographic and attitudinal variables of Chapter Three, division of the chairmen into amateur, semiprofessional, and professional categories

corresponds to differences in both the types of campaign activity carried out by the local party organization and the degree of contacting of state or party officials by the chairmen on party business. From these results, it follows that chairmen with predominantly amateur orientations would be less likely than chairmen with professional orientations to emphasize party organization within the county party, as the figures for contacting appear to indicate they are less likely to be concerned with party business and organization outside the county. Moreover, it would be anticipated the amateurs would be less concerned with campaigning for the nominees of the party. The selection of delegates from California to the 1972 Democratic National Convention under rules changes mandated by the 1968 Convention designed to make the selection of delegates more broadly representative of the public provides a graphic example of the differing perspectives of amateurs and professionals toward political activity. Professionals saw the new rules as a means of achieving electoral victory; the rules ". . . would allow the professionals more freedom to choose the best campaign personnel"; the amateur activists, however, were less concerned with electoral success. They participated out of concern for influencing both who would become the party's presidential nominee and what would be the shape of the party's platform. For the amateur activists, ". . . political skills and resources became a minor consideration," even a liability (Cavala, 1974, pp. 36-37).

Whether the differences between amateurs and professionals can be seen in an emphasis upon party organization and in the level of local party campaign activity is approached in two ways: first, by examining the degree to which the county apparatus was organized to conduct an ,

election campaign and, second, by looking at the degree to which the local party actually did campaign for elective offices.

The degree to which the county was organized to campaign is measured by the chairmen's assessment of the number of precincts in the county that are organized. The results, presented in Table 5-6, indicate that the amateurs report fewer organized precincts than do the professionals.

Table 5-6

Level of Precinct Organization by Amateurism
(in percents)

Percent of organized <u>precincts</u>	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Semi- prof.</u>	<u>Prof.</u>
none	28.1	19.4	11.8
1 to 25	17.4	15.7	13.1
26 to 50	11.6	12.1	12.2
51 to 75	15.7	17.1	16.3
76 to 100	27.3	35.7	46.6
N =	121	718	558
		$\chi^2 = 35.51^a$	
Percent of organized <u>precincts</u>	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Semi- prof.</u>	<u>Majori- tarian</u>
none	25.3	11.8	42.1
1 to 25	25.3	11.8	42.1
26 to 50	17.2	13.1	10.5
51 to 75	17.2	16.3	10.5
76 to 100	28.3	46.6	26.3
N =	99	558	19
		$\chi^2 = 29.87^a$	

^adf = 8; significant at .001

Twenty-eight percent of the amateurs report precincts in their counties are without organization. For the semiprofessionals, the figure is almost 10 percent less, 19 percent, and for professionals, less than one-half the percentage of amateurs, 12 percent. The same relative positions are kept for the categories of from 1 to 25 percent of the precincts organized. Conversely, at the other end of the scale, more than 35 percent of the semiprofessionals and more than 46 percent of the professionals say that between 76 and 100 percent of their precincts are organized, while only 27 percent of the amateurs classify that percentage of precincts in their counties as organized. Degree of organization seems clearly associated with increasing professional orientation. As the table reports, the least organized counties are found in those headed by the majoritarian chairmen. Forty-two percent of the majoritarians report no precincts organized. Only 26 percent of the majoritarians say all precincts in their counties are organized, a figure smaller than that of any other group. Thus, while the percentage of organized precincts declines with increasing professional orientation among all groups, the majoritarians show the least precinct organization. That the counties headed by the amateur chairmen are less organized is expected from the attitudes of amateurs toward party politics. While organization is a goal in itself for the professional, the amateur relies upon ideological conviction to maintain loyalty (Wilson, 1968).

A more fundamental question than the degree of organization is whether the organization is put to use in election campaigns. To examine the differences between professionals and amateurs in this regard, two sets of questions asked of the chairmen are correlated. The first series of questions asked the chairmen if an election for any of ten

different offices at the local, state, or national levels had taken place within the last year; the offices are those of mayor, city councilman, county commissioner, sheriff, prosecutor, legislator, judge, congressman, governor, and senator. The second series of questions inquired as to whether the county organization had actually campaigned for these offices. If an election had taken place and if the county party actively campaigned for the office, the county was assigned a score of one; if no election was held or if the county did not campaign for the office, the score was zero. The scores were summed to produce a scale ranging from zero (no elections or no party campaigning) to ten (elections for all ten offices with the party actively campaigning in all ten). This score represents the number of instances in which the party could and did actively campaign. However, since not all counties may have held elections for all ten of the offices, it is necessary to correct this total score by accounting for the number of elections that actually took place. This was done by summing the number of elections held and dividing into the number of instances where the county could and did campaign. This figure was then multiplied by 100; the result is the percentage of offices for which there were elections and in which the party campaigned. The percentages were then divided into quartiles.

This measure, together with the percent of precincts organized in the county, should be seen as two aspects of the same phenomenon. Before the advent of political campaigns conducted by electronic media when the candidate needed to rely more exclusively upon the party organization for campaign support, the number of organized precincts would have constituted an adequate measure of party effort for elective

office. Now, however, the reliance upon party assistance may be diminished. When the electorate may easily be reached with electronic or printed media, the need for party organization at the precinct level is undercut. Admittedly, the candidate may bypass the party completely, but to do so would be to isolate his campaign from a potential source of election aid. Thus, despite lack of precinct organization, the county organization may be neither moribund nor nonexistent, but, rather, using new means to reach the electorate, means not requiring organization at the precinct level.

The data presented in Table 5-7 indicate that party organizations headed by amateur oriented chairmen are less likely to be active in terms of the percent of offices for which the party actively campaigned. While 20.9 percent of the amateurs reported campaigning for fewer than 25 percent of the offices for which there were elections, only 10 percent of the professionals fall into that category. Similarly, 31 percent of the amateurs actively campaigned for 26 to 50 percent of the elective offices in the county, while only 18 percent of the professionals are at that level. At the other end of the spectrum, nearly 50 percent of the professionals reported actively campaigning for 75 percent of the contests in the county, but only 28 percent of the amateurs are active in that percentage of elections. Only 17 percent of the majoritarians reported actively campaigning in 76 to 100 percent of the election campaigns in their counties. At the other extreme, only 56.6 percent of the majoritarians report mounting campaigns for as many as 50 percent of the offices in the county. Semiprofessionals show few differences when compared to the professionals; the largest difference between them is 7.2 percent, 49.5 percent of the

Table 5-7

Percent of Offices Actively Campaigned for
by County Party and Amateurism
(in percents)

<u>Percent of offices</u>	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Semi- prof.</u>	<u>Prof.</u>
0 to 25	20.3	11.7	10.0
26 to 50	30.8	18.8	18.1
51 to 75	21.1	27.3	22.4
76 to 100	27.8	42.3	49.5
N =	133	781	598

$$X = 35.95^a$$

<u>Percent of offices</u>	<u>Amateur</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Majori- tarian</u>
0 to 25	20.6	10.0	21.7
26 to 50	29.9	18.1	34.8
51 to 75	19.6	22.4	26.1
76 to 100	29.9	49.5	17.4
N =	107	598	23

$$X = 31.30^a$$

^adf = 6; significant at .001

professionals maintain having campaigned for 76 to 100 percent of the electoral contests in their county as opposed to 42.3 percent of the semiprofessionals. These figures seem to indicate that counties with professionally oriented chairmen campaign for a greater percentage of offices than counties with amateur oriented chairmen.

The results presented in this chapter help to confirm Wilson's description of the distinction between amateur and professional political activists. In each of the five kinds of campaign activity

considered, the professional chairmen report higher levels of activity than the amateurs. Moreover, the professionals are more likely to say they contact other party or state officials than are the amateurs. The majoritarian chairmen are the least likely to report frequently using any of the five campaign activities, but do exceed the remaining amateurs in the level of reported contacts with the state's governor, with congressmen, and with U.S. senators. Despite the social connections and security that accompany longer time in office, amateurs who have served longest as county chairmen do not appear any more likely than amateurs with less experience to contact party or state officials. These differences remain apparent both when the amateurs and professionals are compared over the percent of organized precincts in their counties or when compared over the percent of elections in which the party campaigns--professionals are more likely to report organized precincts and more likely to report campaigning.

While Chapter Four demonstrates that county chairmen can be arrayed on a continuum from amateur to professional, this chapter points to the importance of that distinction: local party organizations led by amateur chairmen appear to campaign less actively than those counties led by professional chairmen. In addition, the amateur seems less concerned with the organizational side of party work. The importance of these differences will be examined in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

THE COUNTY CHAIRMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

The preceding chapters have tested two models of local party activity as it may be influenced by the county party leadership. The first model tested emphasizes the connection between the demographic characteristics of the county chairmen and local party activity. This model is suggested in much of the literature on the local party. It maintains that the demographic characteristics of the chairmen have an impact upon the chairmen who, in turn, influence the activity of the local party organization. Thus, differences in party activity may be traced to demographic differences among the party leadership. The second model of local party activity stresses the leadership's political orientations, specifically, the county chairman's amateur or professional attitude toward politics. This model postulates that different party activity will be associated with the chairmen's differing political orientations. These models were suggested by earlier research on local party organization but they had not been subjected to analysis that attempted to link them directly to the county party chairmen. I will first discuss the results of this analysis as they relate to both models of party activity. Then, I will consider the wider implications of the results for American political parties.

The concentration in previous studies upon the demographic traits of the local party leadership assumed that these traits were significant in explaining the activity of the local party apparatus. The connection between the socio-economic characteristics of individuals and political participation has been frequently noted (Campbell et al., 1964; Verba and Nie, 1972). Since demographic characteristics have been shown to be correlated with political activism and with attitudinal patterns, the next logical step is to take the demographic characteristics of political leaders and link them to political organizations and the activity of these organizations. Chapter Three examines this hypothesized relationship by looking at two sets of personal characteristics of the chairmen. The first set of attributes is the demographic characteristics of education, age, occupation, and time served in the office of county chairman. The second set of characteristics is designed to tap the chairman's political attitudes: self-placement on a liberal-conservative scale, attitudes toward the activity of the federal government, the level of government for which the chairman had greatest concern, and the chairman's assessment of the greatest problem facing the state. These variables have been frequently used in earlier research into county party leadership.

Party activity is also measured in two ways. First, it is viewed as campaign activity: efforts to maximize votes through such activities as passing out literature or circulars or by using press releases. Second, party activity is considered as the communication network within the party, specifically, contacts between the county chairmen and a wide range of party and state officials. Stated another way, these two aspects of the dependent variable reflect, first, externally

directed activity of political parties, actions designed to involve those persons outside the party organization itself, and, second, internally directed activity, interactions chiefly with other party organization members.

When the relationship between the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of the chairmen is tested against the measures of party activity, little connection is apparent. The demographic and attitudinal traits measured here seem unrelated to differences in type of party electoral activity pursued by the county party or the frequency of interparty communications made by the chairmen.

The second model of party activity examined links the political orientations of the chairmen to local party activity. Orientations are defined here following John Q. Wilson's division of party activists into amateurs and professionals. Chapter Four divides amateurs from professionals on the basis of the chairman's perceived obligations to the party in terms of following party leaders, offering patronage positions to party supporters, considering party service before choosing party candidates, and keeping public officials accountable to the party. The data presented in Chapter Four indicate, first, that the county chairmen may be divided along amateur-professional lines, and, second, that the amateurs and the professionals differ from each other in regard to demographic characteristics. Over 8 percent of the chairmen are classified as amateurs, while over 30 percent are professionals; the remaining 49 percent fall in between as semiprofessionals. These groups differ in demographic makeup. The amateurs are better educated, younger, and newer to the office of county chairman than their more professional counterparts. In addition, the amateurs are

less likely than semiprofessionals or professionals to desire higher party office or to remain as county chairmen. They are also less likely to have held public office. Amateurs themselves are divided over the question of whether or not politicians should rely upon their own judgment or the wishes of their constituents in making public policy decisions. The majoritarian subset of amateurs is less educated than the remaining amateurs, but they tend to have served in office longer. The majoritarians are also more likely to call themselves conservative than are the other amateur-oriented chairmen.

Chapter Five examines the significance of the amateur-professional division among the chairmen in terms of party activity. The data presented indicate amateurs are less likely than professionals to engage in the five kinds of campaign-related activity considered in this analysis. The amateurs were also less likely than the professionals to report communicating with other party or public officials on matters of party business. While the majoritarians are somewhat less likely to report frequently using the five campaign activities considered in this study, they are more likely to report contacts on party business with the governor, congressmen, and U.S. senators.

The failure of the demographic model to indicate differences in party activities would seem to have consequences for American political parties. The success of the amateur-professional model in highlighting differences between the chairmen serves to reinforce these conclusions. An understanding of the significance of the findings of this research requires an understanding of the developments within the American electorate and, consequently, American political parties since the 1950s.

The character of the American electorate appears to have changed over the last twenty-five years. In the 1950s, political party was, for most Americans, the major guide to political activity: ". . . party affiliation served as an anchor point for the citizen" (Nie et al., 1976, p. 22). Between the 1950s and the 1970s, however, major social changes took place that greatly influenced and modified the relationship between individuals and political parties in the United States. Increases in educational attainment and affluence, coupled with the advent of electronic media and the mass dissemination of political information, has enabled the electorate to depend less upon parties as a source of political information and to rely more upon agents other than parties--journalists, for example--for political intelligence. Greater levels of education, as well as greater availability of information, have also enabled the electorate to rely more upon itself for political information (Agranoff, 1972; Burnham, 1975; Sorauf, 1976). What seems to have happened in the two decades between the 1950s and the 1970s is the development of a politically active class capable of scrutinizing issues, formulating opinions, and actively participating in politics without the heavy reliance upon political parties that characterized most political participants before the 1950s (Ladd and Hadley, 1975; Nie et al., 1976). This is the antithesis of the environment in which the traditional political machine thrives. The traditional machine, perhaps the highest degree of political party organization in the United States, flourished in conditions of low levels of education and economic distress (Scott, 1969).

The consequence of these developments in economics and in education has been to produce a "new style" in American politics, a style

in which the role of the party is considerably diminished. "As candidates have turned to new means of mobilizing their electorate, the party organization, with its tradition of getting out the partisan vote on a face-to-face basis, has become less important" (Agranoff, 1972, p. 97). Burnham says, ". . . functions once performed by the major parties have lost their utility in recent years" (Burnham, 1975, p. 349). These developments would appear to point to the demise--"decomposition," to use Burnham's word--of American political parties. The party organization is easily bypassed by candidates and even more easily by incumbents. In itself, this is not a recent development. Political candidates, acting as "self-starters," have always discovered ways to work around the party organization. What is new is the increased capacity for the electorate to bypass the party as a source of information and political guidance. The major change has been in the size of the affluent and educated class and its consequent position as a source of political influence (Ladd and Hadley, 1975). "The long-term trends are surely irreversible," writes Sunquist, "the old-fashioned closed political system is not going to be reestablished, old-style bosses restored to power, media campaigning outlawed, or the level of affluence and education that make for independent politics reduced" (1973, p. 352).

Moreover, party membership is increasingly ideologically oriented, concerned more with political issues and less with the potential material gain that may result from political participation (Nie et al., 1976). This study helps to confirm that the new emphasis upon issues and ideology has intruded into the political party in the form of political amateurs. If the party membership in general and the county

chairmen, in particular, are now ideologically motivated, ideological and issues concerns may detract from the concerns of party organization. Ideologically motivated party members may weaken the party organization. Epstein has pointed out that, in addition to purposeful, solidarity, and material incentives for organizational activity, there may exist a fourth incentive for participation in political party activity: a hybrid of the purposeful and solidarity incentives: "The incentive is simply to win as for one's team in a game" (1970, p. 102). As Sorauf says, the party develops loyalties of its own: ". . . party itself may even become a goal" (1975, p. 37). This goal apparently is not shared by the amateur politician.

As the data from Chapter Five indicate, amateur-oriented chairmen (defined, in part, as chairmen who feel an obligation to pick candidates with issue commitments and who feel the need to hold personal beliefs) are less likely than professionally-oriented chairmen to contact elected officials in public or party offices on matters of party business, less likely to report organized precincts in their counties, and less likely to have county organizations that actively campaign for elective offices. The amateurs appear indifferent to party organization. As Ladd and Hadley say, the "purist" of both left and right is ". . . more sensitive to the integrity of program than to maintenance of the party organization" (1975, p. 305). The political consequences of emphasizing program above party have been seen in Iowa, where some of the county party leadership bolted the party after the failure of their candidate to win, and in California, where activist emphasis upon party platform and the issue integrity of the candidates disrupted the party organization (Johnson and Gibson, 1974; Cavala,

1974). Similar adverse effects upon party organization have been observed in the National Conventions of the Democratic party: ". . . the amateur activist's urge to transform political discourse into a morality play runs against the grain of the party regulars who have learned to separate their own private moral convictions from the public positions they take in the name of the party" (Sullivan et al., 1976, p. 39).

The abandonment of party ties and the ideological approach to politics by an increasing number of the electorate, and as this study indicates, by local party leadership, may lead to a diminution of the importance of the party, the political party becoming one of many extra governmental organizations concerned with influencing the government policy-making process. "Its sole control of the mobilization of power ends amid growing competition from other political organizations. The party remains both a potent organization and powerful reference symbol, but it loses its monopoly of the resources, skills, and information in electoral politics" (Sorauf, 1976, p. 439).

Tammany boss George Washington Plunkitt wrote in 1905: ". . . a reformer can't last in politics. He may make a show for a little while, but he always comes down like a rocket. . . . The great business of your life must be politics if you want to succeed in it" (1905, p. 1). This analysis suggests that the reformers have not only lasted but prospered in politics by moving into positions of party leadership. Yet, Plunkitt's assessment points to a deficiency in this analysis: the lack of longitudinal data. While this "snapshot" analysis of the county chairmen may be accurate for 1970, it says nothing about how they or those who filled their roles appeared before or after the survey. Placing the chairmen in the context of other studies or other

politically active groups such as convention delegates, comparing a national sample of chairmen with the samples done in individual states, or finding corresponding developments within the electorate as a whole help to mitigate time-bound data, but more research needs to be done to determine if the amateur syndrome in local party organization still exists. The county chairmen are only one part of a much larger political phenomenon, but their position as leaders of the grassroots party organization demands attention, as changes within the ranks of the chairmen may portend changes in American political parties.

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APPENDIX A

County Chairmen Questionnaire

PARTY LEADERSHIP OPINION STUDY

1. What do you consider to be the most important problem facing your state today?

2. What is your opinion on the following state issues:

Are you favorable or unfavorable toward:	Very Favorable	Favorable	Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	No Opinion
a) the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) a law which would permit a woman to go to a doctor to end a pregnancy any time during the first three months?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) having all new automobiles equipped with an anti-pollution device which would add approximately \$100 to the price of an automobile?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) permitting public school teachers to join unions?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) permitting public school teachers to strike?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g) permitting policemen and firemen to join unions?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h) permitting policemen and firemen to strike?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i) making the use of marijuana legal?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
j) a law requiring automobile drivers suspected of having consumed too much alcohol to take a breath test or a blood test?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
k) the "no fault" plan dealing with auto insurance?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
l) state aid for education going to Catholic and other private schools?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

3. Please rank the top three of the following reasons for why you wanted to become a county chairman. Write "1" for the reason that was most important in your decision, "2" for the reason that was next important, and "3" for the reason that was next important.

_____ Strong party loyalty	_____ Helpful in private business contacts
_____ Politics is part of my way of life	_____ Want to seek other public or party offices
_____ Social contacts and friends	_____ Enjoy campaigns
_____ Contact with influential people	_____ Personal friendship with candidate
_____ Concern with public issues	_____ Sense of community obligation

APPENDIX A (continued)

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4. For which of the following offices were elections held in your state and county for the 1970 general election? Please check those offices for which elections were held.
- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mayor or equivalent office | <input type="checkbox"/> State Legislator |
| <input type="checkbox"/> City or Town Council | <input type="checkbox"/> City or County Judge |
| <input type="checkbox"/> County Commissioner or County Council | <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Congressman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> County Sheriff | <input type="checkbox"/> Governor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> County Prosecutor | <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senator |
5. Based upon your best estimate, what percentage of county offices did your party contest in the 1970 general election?
- ☐ 0% ☐ 1-25% ☐ 26-50% ☐ 51-75% ☐ 76-100%
6. How difficult would you say it is to get people to run for county offices for your party?
- ☐ Very difficult ☐ Not very difficult
- ☐ Somewhat difficult ☐ No one ever runs for county offices from my party
7. Check those offices for which your county committee actively campaigned in the 1970 general election.
- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mayor or equivalent office | <input type="checkbox"/> State Legislator |
| <input type="checkbox"/> City or Town Council | <input type="checkbox"/> City or County Judge |
| <input type="checkbox"/> County Commissioner or County Council | <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Congressman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> County Sheriff | <input type="checkbox"/> Governor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> County Prosecutor | <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senator |
8. In the last year how often have you contacted the following on business for the party?
- | | Often | Sometimes | Hardly ever | Never |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| State legislators | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Governor | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| County Commissioner | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other state officials | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| U.S. Congressmen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| U.S. Senators | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| State Party Chairman | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other County Party Chairmen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
9. Did any candidates for local or state office contact you for support before the *primary* election?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No
10. Did you give any of these candidates your support before the *primary* election?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No
11. How likely is a candidate to win the *primary* election in your county if the party organization were to oppose him?
- ☐ Sure to win
- ☐ Makes no difference
- ☐ He would never win
12. Do you feel you played an important part in the success of primary election candidates for state and local office?
- ☐ Very important
- ☐ No difference
- ☐ Not important
13. Do you participate in planning and strategy meetings of party leaders to discuss nominations and support of candidates for state and local office *before primary elections*?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPENDIX A (continued)

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14. Please check the conditions that exist for your party committee.

	Yes	No
County committee is organized	_____	_____
County staff is hired	_____	_____
County staff is volunteered	_____	_____
County records are maintained	_____	_____
County committee conducted a campaign in the 1970 general election	_____	_____

15. Approximately how many county committee meetings were held in 1970? _____

16. Approximately how many county committee meetings were held in 1971? _____

17. How many precincts are there in your county? _____

18. Please give the percentage of precincts in your county in which the following conditions are met:

	0%	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%
Precinct chairman or captain has been appointed or elected	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Precinct committees have been organized	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Precinct rolls are maintained	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Precincts are meeting at county meetings and conventions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

19. What do you think is the general opinion of the people in your county on the following state issues? Are they favorable or unfavorable toward:

	Very Favorable	Favorable	Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	No Opinion
a) the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) a law which would permit a woman to go to a doctor to end a pregnancy any time during the first three months?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) having all new automobiles equipped with an anti- pollution device which would add approximately \$100 to the price of an automobile?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) permitting public school teachers to join unions?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) permitting public school teachers to strike?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g) permitting policemen and firemen to join unions?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h) permitting policemen and firemen to strike?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i) making the use of marijuana legal?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
j) a law requiring automobile drivers suspected of having consumed too much alcohol to take a breath test or a blood test?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX A (continued)

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- | | Very
Favorable | Favorable | Unfavorable | Very
Unfavorable | No
Opinion |
|--|-------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|
| k) The "no fault" plan dealing with auto insurance? | — | — | — | — | — |
| l) state aid for education going to Catholic and other private schools? | — | — | — | — | — |
| 20. In securing voting support, in which <i>one</i> of the following areas is the greatest amount of your effort as chairman concentrated. <i>Check one only.</i> | | | | | |
| — Registration—increasing the number of registered voters favoring your party. | | | | | |
| — Party Morale—that is, keeping the party regulars aware and enthusiastic through public appeals to them. | | | | | |
| — General Public Appeal—that is, radio, TV, or newspaper appeals to the public, regardless of party. | | | | | |
| — Personal contact with party members. | | | | | |
| — Other (please specify: _____). | | | | | |
| — No effort to secure support is being made at the present time. | | | | | |
| 21. Listed below are campaign activities that have been employed by some county committees in general elections. Please indicate whether <i>your county committee</i> often used, sometimes used, or never used each activity in the most recent general election. | | | | | |
| Did it: | | | Often | Sometimes | Never |
| Use movie advertisements | — | — | — | — | — |
| Organize door to door canvassing | — | — | — | — | — |
| Arrange barbecues or chicken fries | — | — | — | — | — |
| Use radio time for county campaigns | — | — | — | — | — |
| Organize rallies | — | — | — | — | — |
| Prepare press releases | — | — | — | — | — |
| Use television time for county campaigns | — | — | — | — | — |
| Buy newspaper space for county campaigns | — | — | — | — | — |
| Mail circulars or letters | — | — | — | — | — |
| Distribute literature or throw-aways | — | — | — | — | — |
| Organize telephone campaigns | — | — | — | — | — |
| Put up billboards or posters | — | — | — | — | — |
| Use surveys or polls in county campaigns | — | — | — | — | — |
| Emphasize personal campaigns, word of mouth campaigns | — | — | — | — | — |
| Other (Please specify _____) | — | — | — | — | — |
| County committee is essentially inactive | — | — | — | — | — |
| 22. In approximately how many precincts, if any, were the following election day activities carried on in the most recent general election? Please check the column closest to the percent of precincts engaging in the activity. | | | | | |
| | 0% | 1-25% | 26-50% | 51-75% | 76-100% |
| Transporting voters to and from the polls | — | — | — | — | — |
| Poll watchers | — | — | — | — | — |
| Providing baby sitters | — | — | — | — | — |
| Passing out literature or throw-aways | — | — | — | — | — |
| Using sound tracks | — | — | — | — | — |
| Phoning registered voters reminding them to vote | — | — | — | — | — |
| Last minute newspaper, radio, or TV advertising | — | — | — | — | — |
| Parades or motorcades | — | — | — | — | — |
| Other (Please specify _____) | — | — | — | — | — |

APPENDIX A (continued)

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23. Now, let's consider party work. Would you say that you feel a *strong obligation* or some obligation to do each of the following, or, to *avoid doing* each of the following in the conduct of your affairs?

	Strong Obligation To Do	Some Obligation To Do	No Obligation Either Way	Some Obligation To Do	Strong Obligation To Do
a) Follow decisions of party leaders even when you disagree.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) See to it that those who work for the party get help in form of jobs and other things if they need it.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) Weigh prior service to the party very heavily in selecting candidates for nomination.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) Select a nominee who is strongly committed on a variety of issue positions.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) Keep elected public officials strictly accountable to the party organization.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) Hold strong personal beliefs about a number of different issues.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
24. In general do you consider yourself:	_____ Very Liberal	_____ Liberal	_____ Middle of Road		
	_____ Conservative	_____ Very Conservative			
25. Some say most people should be very active in politics while others feel that a division of labor with only a few people being active is desirable. Do you feel that it would be better if all, most, some, or just a few people became highly involved in politics most of the time?					
	_____ All People	_____ Most People	_____ Some People	_____ A Few People	
26. In making most kinds of policy decisions, would you say that politicians ought to use their own best judgment even if this means doing something unpopular, or that politicians ought to do what a majority of their constituents want?					
	_____ Use Own Best Judgment	_____ Do What Majority Wants	_____ Both About Equally		
27. Would you say that you are more concerned with local, state, or national political problems?					
	_____ Local	_____ State	_____ National		
28. With which problems are you least concerned?					
	_____ Local	_____ State	_____ National		
29. In general, should the number of things the federal government does increase, remain the same, or decrease?					
	_____ Increase	_____ Remain the same	_____ Decrease		
30. For each of the below issues, please check whether you think government support for the issue should increase, decrease, or remain the same.					
	Increase	Remain Same	Decrease		
a) Federal aid to education	_____	_____	_____		
b) Enforcement of integration	_____	_____	_____		
c) Defense spending	_____	_____	_____		
d) Level of state services	_____	_____	_____		
e) Anti-riot measures	_____	_____	_____		
f) Law enforcement	_____	_____	_____		
g) Loyalty oaths for teachers	_____	_____	_____		
h) Increase old-age assistance	_____	_____	_____		

APPENDIX A (continued)

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31. From what group would you say you get the most information about political problems in your county? _____ (Group)
32. What group most often asks you for information about political problems in your county? _____ (Group)
33. Have you ever held public office? _____ Yes _____ No
34. At some time in the future, would you ever want to hold some higher party office? _____ Yes _____ No
35. Do you want to keep your present position as county chairman for the foreseeable future? _____ Yes _____ No
36. Would you like to run for a public (non-party) office sometime in the future? _____ Yes _____ No
37. a. _____ Male _____ Female
- b. What is your age? _____.
- c. What is your major occupation? _____.
- d. Check the highest level of formal education completed.
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| None | Some
Grade
School | Finished
Grade
School | Some
High
School | Graduated
From High
School | Some
College | Graduated
From
College | Post-
Graduate
Work |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
- e. Race: _____ White _____ Negro _____ Other
- f. From what country do you trace your ancestry? _____
- g. How long have you held your present party office? _____
- h. List previous party offices and dates held. _____

If you would like to have the results of this survey, check here. _____

APPENDIX B

Demographic Variables by Campaign Activity Variables (in percents)

<u>Activity:</u>	<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Some-</u> <u>times</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Some-</u> <u>times</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Use of Surveys or Polls</u>								
<u>Education</u>								
None-some high school	5.6	41.7	52.8	36	16.7	45.8	37.5	24
High school	16.0	29.2	54.7	106	18.4	28.9	12.5	76
Some college	9.9	43.4	46.7	182	12.0	46.4	41.7	192
College and post-grad.	10.8	39.4	49.8	325	24.9	40.5	44.7	430
<u>Age</u>								
22 to 35	7.2	42.2	50.6	83	13.7	39.2	47.1	102
36 to 50	13.9	41.0	45.2	310	14.2	40.9	44.9	347
51 to 65	8.9	34.7	56.4	202	13.9	41.8	44.3	201
66 to 86	9.4	39.6	50.9	53	22.5	42.5	35.0	40
<u>Occupation</u>								
Professional, technical, kindred workers	10.5	35.9	53.5	256	14.3	43.3	42.4	245
Managers, officials	12.6	44.7	42.7	206	16.1	39.2	44.7	255
Farmers, farm workers	6.3	27.8	65.8	79	7.4	34.0	58.5	94
<u>Time in Office</u>								
2 years or less	12.5	42.7	44.7	255	15.7	41.1	43.2	331
3 or 4 years	11.7	42.7	45.6	171	12.5	46.4	41.1	168
5 years or more	9.1	32.0	58.9	219	13.9	36.5	49.5	208
<u>Activity:</u>								
<u>Use of Circulars</u>								
<u>Education</u>								
None-some high school	52.5	40.0	7.5	40	46.4	53.6	0.0	28
High school	40.7	46.6	12.7	118	51.8	44.6	3.6	83
Some college	49.7	40.6	9.6	197	48.1	44.7	7.3	206
College and post-grad.	50.6	41.2	8.2	342	53.3	40.0	6.6	452
<u>Age</u>								
22 to 35	37.5	52.3	10.2	88	48.1	43.4	8.5	106
36 to 50	51.7	40.8	7.5	319	53.2	42.7	4.1	393
51 to 65	52.0	38.3	9.7	227	49.3	43.3	7.4	215
66 to 86	38.7	46.8	14.5	62	52.0	36.0	12.0	50

APPENDIX B (continued)

	<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
	Often	Some- times	Never	N	Often	Some- times	Never	N
<u>Occupation</u>								
Professional, technical, kindred workers	48.9	40.8	10.3	272	56.4	37.1	6.6	259
Managers, officials	54.5	39.6	5.9	222	50.9	45.0	4.1	271
Farmers, farm workers	30.2	51.2	18.6	86	33.7	59.4	6.9	101
<u>Time in Office</u>								
2 years or less	50.0	42.5	7.5	268	51.3	44.1	4.6	347
3 or 4 years	49.7	42.8	7.5	187	52.2	40.6	7.2	180
5 years or more	47.0	39.7	13.2	234	51.5	40.6	7.9	229
<u>Activity:</u>								
<u>Use of Press Releases</u>								
<u>Education</u>								
None-some high school	36.8	42.1	21.1	38	16.7	45.8	37.5	24
High school	44.3	45.2	10.4	115	18.4	28.9	12.5	76
Some college	51.3	38.9	9.8	193	12.0	46.4	41.7	192
College and post-grad.	54.8	38.8	6.4	345	14.9	40.5	44.7	430
<u>Age</u>								
22 to 35	50.0	44.3	5.7	88	13.7	39.2	47.1	102
36 to 50	58.8	35.0	6.3	320	14.2	40.9	44.9	347
51 to 65	44.8	43.0	12.2	221	13.9	41.8	44.3	201
66 to 86	36.7	48.3	15.0	60	22.5	42.5	35.0	40
<u>Occupation</u>								
Professional, technical, kindred workers	57.0	36.3	6.7	270	52.9	42.0	5.1	257
Managers, officials	53.2	38.2	8.6	220	47.8	44.9	7.4	272
Farmers, farm workers	29.9	54.0	16.1	87	29.0	64.0	7.0	100
<u>Time in Office</u>								
2 years or less	56.3	36.2	7.5	268	15.7	41.1	43.2	331
3 or 4 years	51.1	42.9	6.0	184	12.5	46.4	41.1	168
5 years or more	46.2	41.9	12.0	234	13.9	36.5	49.5	208
<u>Activity:</u>								
<u>Use of Radio</u>								
<u>Education</u>								
None-some high school	30.8	38.5	30.8	39	42.9	28.6	28.6	28
High school	36.0	43.0	21.1	114	28.0	43.9	28.0	82
Some college	35.0	42.6	22.3	197	36.6	43.9	19.5	205
College and post-grad.	37.9	42.6	19.5	338	35.5	38.6	25.9	448
<u>Age</u>								
22 to 35	29.1	45.3	25.6	86	41.5	34.0	24.5	106
36 to 50	41.1	39.4	29.6	322	35.4	40.1	24.5	387
51 to 65	33.3	45.5	21.2	222	31.3	44.9	23.8	214
66 to 86	32.1	42.9	25.0	56	42.3	32.7	25.0	52

APPENDIX B (continued)

	<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
	<u>Some-</u>		<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Some-</u>		<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>times</u>			<u>Often</u>	<u>times</u>		
Professional, technical, kindred workers	35.8	37.7	26.4	265	41.8	37.1	21.1	256
Managers, officials	41.7	46.2	12.1	223	34.9	41.3	23.8	269
Farmers, farm workers	28.4	42.0	29.5	88	24.8	43.8	31.4	105
<u>Time in Office</u>								
2 years or less	37.1	43.1	19.9	267	36.2	40.6	23.2	345
3 or 4 years	39.3	44.4	16.3	178	32.9	37.6	29.5	173
5 years or more	34.9	38.7	26.4	235	36.5	40.9	22.6	230
<u>Activity:</u>								
<u>Use of Literature</u>								
<u>Education</u>								
None-some high school	51.2	36.6	12.2	41	50.0	46.2	3.8	26
High school	49.6	43.5	7.0	115	56.1	40.2	3.7	82
Some college	55.1	36.2	8.7	196	53.8	42.3	3.8	208
College and post-grad.	54.5	38.1	7.3	341	53.0	42.1	4.9	451
<u>Age</u>								
22 to 35	48.9	44.3	6.8	88	55.2	35.2	9.5	105
36 to 50	59.6	35.1	5.3	317	54.9	42.1	3.1	390
51 to 65	50.0	40.3	9.7	226	47.7	47.7	4.6	218
66 to 86	42.4	40.7	16.9	59	61.2	34.7	4.1	47
<u>Occupation</u>								
Professional, technical, kindred workers	56.1	34.3	9.6	271	56.7	36.6	6.7	254
Managers, officials	54.8	41.6	3.6	221	54.1	44.1	1.9	270
Farmers, farm workers	37.9	48.3	13.8	87	34.0	57.5	8.5	106
<u>Time in Office</u>								
2 years or less	55.6	39.6	4.9	268	55.8	39.0	5.2	346
3 or 4 years	51.6	41.4	7.0	186	48.6	48.0	3.4	177
5 years or more	53.9	34.1	12.1	232	54.6	41.0	4.4	229

APPENDIX C

Attitudinal Variables by Campaign Activity Variables (in percents)

<u>Activity:</u>	<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Some-</u> <u>times</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Some-</u> <u>times</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Use of Surveys or Polls</u>								
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>								
Liberal	13.3	44.0	42.7	293	20.0	40.0	40.0	35
Middle-of-the-Road	11.8	37.1	51.1	229	14.2	45.4	40.4	218
Conservative	3.8	27.4	68.9	106	14.2	38.7	47.1	450
<u>Activity of Federal Government</u>								
Increase	13.9	43.7	42.4	151	29.0	32.3	38.7	31
Remain the same	10.0	41.7	48.3	120	11.3	41.9	46.8	62
Decrease	9.7	35.1	55.2	319	13.7	41.8	44.5	600
<u>Most Concerned With:</u>								
Local	10.0	41.7	48.3	180	18.2	37.4	44.4	187
State	11.4	34.2	54.3	184	11.2	43.4	45.4	196
Nation	9.6	41.7	49.3	146	9.7	40.0	50.3	195
<u>Most Important Problem Facing State</u>								
Social Issues	9.4	31.2	59.4	135	17.2	40.1	42.7	157
Economic	12.1	43.7	44.2	355	13.1	41.6	45.2	389
State Govt./Pol. Party	4.4	44.4	51.1	45	18.7	37.4	44.0	91
<u>Activity:</u>								
<u>Use of Circulars</u>								
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>								
Liberal	57.2	38.6	4.2	311	45.7	45.7	8.6	35
Middle-of-the-Road	43.8	45.9	10.3	242	57.8	38.4	3.9	232
Conservative	37.0	42.9	20.2	119	48.5	44.6	6.9	478
<u>Activity of Federal Government</u>								
Increase	55.2	41.7	3.1	163	60.0	31.4	8.6	35
Remain the same	54.3	40.3	5.4	129	48.4	46.8	4.8	62
Decrease	42.8	43.4	13.8	341	50.4	43.0	6.6	639
<u>Most Concerned With:</u>								
Local	54.5	34.8	10.7	187	54.2	39.9	5.9	203
State	44.7	47.7	7.6	197	54.4	38.7	6.9	204
Nation	47.1	43.8	9.2	153	41.0	49.5	9.5	200

APPENDIX C (continued)

	<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
	Often	Some- times	Never	N	Often	Some- times	Never	N
<u>Most Important Problem</u>								
<u>Facing State</u>								
Social issues	46.7	42.1	11.2	152	46.7	46.2	7.1	169
Economic	52.0	40.5	7.5	373	54.1	39.3	6.6	407
State Govt./Pol. Party	44.9	42.9	12.2	49	49.0	44.7	6.3	96
<u>Activity:</u>								
<u>Use of Press Releases</u>								
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>								
Liberal	60.4	33.1	6.5	308	45.9	51.4	2.7	37
Middle-of-the-Road	43.2	48.5	8.3	241	53.3	41.5	5.2	229
Conservative	43.7	40.3	16.0	119	45.5	46.9	7.6	473
<u>Activity of Federal</u>								
<u>Government</u>								
Increase	55.4	35.5	9.0	166	58.8	35.3	5.9	34
Remain the same	54.0	41.9	4.0	124	51.6	43.5	4.8	62
Decrease	47.9	41.4	10.7	338	46.3	46.6	7.1	635
<u>Most Concerned With:</u>								
Local	55.4	33.9	10.8	186	59.1	33.8	7.1	198
State	46.4	46.9	6.8	192	45.1	45.6	9.2	206
Nation	51.3	43.3	5.3	150	41.9	51.5	6.6	198
<u>Most Important Problem</u>								
<u>Facing State</u>								
Social Issues	47.3	36.7	16.0	150	47.7	42.4	9.9	172
Economic	55.5	41.0	3.5	373	51.7	43.3	4.9	406
State Govt./Pol. Party	51.0	46.9	2.0	49	41.9	49.5	8.6	93
<u>Activity:</u>								
<u>Use of Radio</u>								
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>								
Liberal	35.8	45.9	18.2	307	40.5	32.4	27.0	37
Middle-of-the-Road	39.1	39.1	21.8	238	38.7	40.0	21.3	225
Conservative	30.8	40.0	29.2	120	32.8	41.1	26.1	475
<u>Activity of Federal</u>								
<u>Government</u>								
Increase	38.3	40.1	21.6	167	41.2	32.4	26.5	34
Remain the same	40.8	37.5	21.7	120	31.3	45.3	23.4	64
Decrease	34.7	42.9	22.4	340	34.7	40.1	25.2	631
<u>Most Concerned With:</u>								
Local	44.7	37.2	18.1	188	38.7	37.2	24.1	199
State	30.6	43.5	25.9	193	32.7	43.1	24.3	202
Nation	32.7	48.7	18.7	150	33.0	41.0	26.0	200

APPENDIX C (continued)

	<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
	<u>Some-</u>				<u>Some-</u>			
	<u>Often</u>	<u>times</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>times</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Most Important Problem</u>								
<u>Facing State</u>								
Social issues	36.8	38.8	24.3	152	32.9	38.2	28.8	170
Economic	39.0	43.4	17.6	369	38.8	37.8	23.5	405
State Govt./Pol. Party	27.1	50.0	22.9	48	31.6	46.3	22.1	95
<u>Activity:</u>								
<u>Use of Literature</u>								
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>								
Liberal	62.5	33.3	4.2	312	63.9	27.8	8.3	36
Middle-of-the-Road	50.0	43.3	6.7	240	54.6	41.0	4.4	229
Conservative	37.9	40.5	21.6	116	51.9	43.9	4.2	478
<u>Activity of Federal</u>								
<u>Government</u>								
Increase	66.9	30.1	3.1	163	61.8	32.4	5.9	34
Remain the same	54.0	40.5	5.6	126	53.8	41.5	4.6	65
Decrease	45.6	43.2	11.2	340	52.1	43.3	4.6	635
<u>Most Concerned With:</u>								
Local	59.9	32.6	7.5	187	59.3	36.2	4.5	199
State	49.7	44.6	5.7	193	50.7	45.3	3.9	203
Nation	52.9	39.9	7.2	153	51.7	42.4	5.9	203
<u>Most Important Problem</u>								
<u>Facing State</u>								
Social Issues	53.3	37.3	9.3	150	54.2	41.1	4.8	168
Economic	56.0	38.9	5.1	373	55.0	41.1	4.0	404
State Govt./Pol. Party	49.0	34.7	16.3	49	50.5	44.2	5.3	95

APPENDIX D

Demographic Variables by Frequency of Contact
(in percents)

Contact: Governors on Party Business	Democrats				N	Republicans				N
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never		Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	
Education										
None-some high school	24.3	37.8	18.9	18.9	37	18.2	36.4	13.6	31.8	22
High school	17.5	38.6	13.2	30.7	114	15.4	43.6	10.3	30.8	78
Some college	19.1	38.2	16.9	25.8	178	16.7	26.3	17.2	39.9	198
College and post-grad.	17.3	31.4	16.4	34.9	341	11.9	25.5	17.1	45.4	427
Age										
22 to 35	16.0	23.5	13.6	46.9	81	10.1	20.2	20.2	49.5	99
36 to 50	18.6	31.8	17.0	32.7	318	13.2	25.4	14.9	46.5	370
51 to 65	16.8	44.9	15.0	23.4	214	14.4	33.5	18.7	33.5	209
66 to 86	25.0	30.4	19.6	25.0	56	21.4	40.5	7.1	31.0	42
Occupation										
Professional, technical	16.9	29.5	17.2	36.4	261	12.6	24.4	19.1	43.9	246
Kindred workers	20.1	40.2	15.0	24.8	214	17.0	20.4	16.6	36.0	253
Managers, officials	13.1	42.9	14.3	29.8	84	6.6	29.7	13.2	50.5	91
Farmers, farm workers										
Time in Office										
2 years or less	18.8	34.5	14.6	32.2	261	10.9	26.4	15.8	46.9	322
3 or 4 years	20.0	29.7	18.9	31.4	175	17.6	26.7	20.6	35.2	165
5 years or more	15.8	38.6	16.2	29.4	228	15.2	30.5	14.3	39.9	223

APPENDIX D (continued)

Contact: State Legislators on Party Business	Democrats				N	Republicans				N
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never		Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	
Education										
None-some high school	55.3	26.3	7.9	10.5	38	48.0	32.0	4.0	16.0	25
High school	41.0	39.3	11.1	8.5	117	47.6	33.8	8.8	10.0	80
Some college	52.2	39.3	5.0	3.5	201	43.1	37.4	10.4	9.0	211
College and post-grad.	43.4	38.3	10.6	7.7	350	42.0	39.6	11.1	7.3	450
Age										
22 to 35	44.0	34.5	14.3	7.1	84	41.0	37.1	8.6	13.3	105
36 to 50	46.0	37.5	9.8	6.7	328	45.2	36.4	10.9	7.5	385
51 to 65	49.8	38.4	6.1	5.7	229	39.4	41.2	11.3	8.1	221
66 to 86	38.1	44.4	6.3	11.1	63	47.1	39.2	7.8	5.9	51
Occupation										
Professional, technical, kindred workers	44.1	37.1	11.0	7.7	272	42.4	39.3	10.1	8.2	257
Managers, officials	48.9	39.6	6.6	4.8	227	45.0	37.5	10.0	7.4	269
Farmers, farm workers	41.7	36.9	11.9	9.5	84	38.6	38.6	13.9	8.9	101
Time in Office										
2 years or less	48.3	37.3	8.4	6.1	263	41.5	41.3	8.3	8.9	349
3 or 4 years	47.9	36.3	10.0	5.8	190	45.9	34.1	12.9	7.1	170
5 years or more	43.3	39.6	9.0	8.2	245	43.3	37.8	11.6	7.3	233

APPENDIX D (continued)

Contact:
Congressmen on Party Business

Contact: Congressmen on Party Business	Democrats				N	Republicans				N
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never		Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	
Education										
None-some high school	43.2	32.4	8.1	16.2	37	29.2	41.7	20.8	8.3	24
High school	25.5	47.3	9.1	18.2	110	28.6	44.2	16.7	10.4	77
Some college	33.5	40.1	16.2	10.2	197	24.0	40.1	18.2	17.7	192
College and post-grad.	22.7	39.7	19.1	18.5	335	24.1	38.3	17.8	19.8	439
Age										
22 to 35	22.6	36.9	15.5	25.0	84	15.8	37.6	21.8	24.8	101
36 to 50	24.2	42.5	19.8	13.5	318	23.8	39.7	16.5	20.0	370
51 to 65	31.6	40.5	12.1	15.8	215	27.2	41.3	19.4	12.1	206
66 to 86	36.7	36.7	11.7	15.0	60	35.8	35.8	17.0	11.3	53
Occupation										
Professional, technical, kindred workers	20.2	42.7	19.5	17.6	262	26.0	40.8	14.8	18.4	250
Managers, officials	34.3	40.3	12.5	13.0	216	25.9	39.2	19.2	15.7	255
Farmers, farm workers	29.1	44.2	10.5	16.3	86	17.2	39.4	19.2	24.2	99
Time in Office										
2 years or less	28.1	38.7	19.1	14.1	256	21.1	41.4	18.7	18.7	331
3 or 4 years	26.9	41.9	17.2	14.0	186	22.4	38.2	20.6	18.8	165
5 years or more	26.7	41.4	12.1	19.8	232	31.7	38.0	15.8	14.5	221

APPENDIX D (continued)

Contact: U.S. Senators on Party Business	Democrats				N	Republicans				N
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never		Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	
<u>Education</u>										
None-some high school	33.3	47.2	8.3	11.1	36	18.2	50.0	22.7	9.1	22
High school	20.6	48.6	15.0	15.9	167	17.7	48.1	21.5	12.7	79
Some college	23.9	46.3	13.8	16.0	188	19.7	34.8	21.7	23.7	198
College and post-grad.	18.8	40.9	20.9	19.4	330	18.7	38.8	19.4	23.1	428
<u>Age</u>										
22 to 35	18.3	39.0	18.3	24.4	82	16.8	30.7	20.8	31.7	101
36 to 50	21.2	39.7	21.2	17.9	307	17.2	39.1	21.6	22.1	366
51 to 65	23.1	50.9	10.8	15.1	212	19.8	43.5	19.3	17.4	207
66 to 86	20.7	48.3	19.0	12.1	58	30.0	38.0	16.0	16.0	50
<u>Occupation</u>										
Professional, technical, kindred workers	18.7	44.4	18.3	18.7	257	18.7	39.4	19.5	22.4	241
Managers, officials	25.1	41.2	17.1	16.6	211	19.8	39.5	22.1	18.6	263
Farmers, farm workers	13.8	53.8	12.5	20.0	80	11.3	44.3	19.6	24.7	97
<u>Time in Office</u>										
2 years or less	18.4	45.2	18.4	18.0	250	17.4	36.4	18.7	27.5	327
3 or 4 years	25.8	40.4	19.1	14.6	178	16.5	35.4	30.5	17.7	164
5 years or more	20.5	45.4	14.4	19.7	229	22.0	46.6	14.8	16.6	223

APPENDIX D (continued)

Contact: State Party Chairmen on Party Business	Democrats				N	Republicans				
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never		Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	
<u>Education</u>										
None-some high school	43.9	41.5	7.3	7.3	41	52.0	36.0	12.0	0.0	25
High school	38.7	42.0	11.8	7.6	119	51.7	37.1	4.5	6.7	89
Some college	54.2	34.0	8.4	3.4	203	53.7	31.5	11.6	3.2	216
College and post-grad.	43.4	38.9	10.9	6.7	357	50.1	35.8	10.6	3.5	453
<u>Age</u>										
22 to 35	51.7	39.1	5.7	3.4	87	54.7	34.9	5.7	4.7	106
36 to 50	47.6	34.0	10.8	7.5	332	50.1	34.0	11.8	4.1	396
59 to 65	40.5	44.7	9.3	5.5	237	47.3	37.8	11.7	3.2	222
66 to 86	46.8	33.9	16.1	3.2	62	67.8	28.8	1.7	1.7	59
<u>Occupation</u>										
Professional, technical										
Kindred workers	42.0	38.8	11.4	7.8	281	51.2	34.1	11.6	3.1	258
Managers, officials	45.9	40.3	10.0	3.9	231	50.0	36.1	9.3	4.6	280
Farmers, farm workers	42.4	43.5	5.9	8.2	85	46.1	41.2	8.8	3.9	102
<u>Time in Office</u>										
2 years or less	49.1	37.1	8.7	5.1	275	56.0	31.0	8.3	4.6	348
3 or 4 years	50.3	34.6	10.5	4.7	191	47.5	38.1	12.7	1.7	181
5 years or more	39.1	41.1	11.7	8.1	248	47.7	37.8	11.2	3.3	241

APPENDIX D (continued)

Contact: Other County Party Chairmen	Democrats				Republicans					
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	N	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	N
<u>Education</u>										
None-some high school	35.1	45.9	10.8	8.1	37	34.6	45.2	15.4	3.8	26
High school	25.4	51.7	14.4	8.5	118	41.0	37.2	15.4	6.4	78
Some college	36.8	43.2	12.6	7.4	190	35.4	44.8	12.3	7.5	212
College and post-grad.	33.1	38.6	16.1	12.1	347	28.3	43.6	20.9	7.2	445
<u>Age</u>										
22 to 35	39.3	39.3	13.1	8.3	84	32.7	35.6	20.2	11.5	104
36 to 50	33.5	38.5	17.7	10.2	322	30.1	44.6	19.7	5.7	386
51 to 65	31.6	47.1	11.1	10.2	225	31.5	47.9	14.6	6.1	213
65 to 86	25.4	52.5	11.9	10.2	59	42.6	33.3	13.0	11.1	54
<u>Occupation</u>										
Professional, technical	31.3	39.6	17.0	12.2	270	29.8	42.0	22.4	5.9	255
Kindred workers	32.6	42.1	15.8	9.5	221	35.2	43.3	15.9	5.6	270
Managers, officials	32.9	50.0	8.5	8.5	82	25.3	44.4	17.2	13.1	99
Farmers, farm workers										
<u>Time in Office</u>										
2 years or less	38.5	39.2	13.6	8.7	265	30.3	41.9	21.7	6.1	346
3 or 4 years	33.1	43.1	16.6	7.2	181	32.9	48.6	15.0	3.5	173
5 years or more	27.1	44.2	14.6	14.2	240	33.2	42.8	14.4	9.6	229

APPENDIX E

Attitudinal Variables by Frequency of Contact
(in percents)

Contact: <u>Governors on Party Business</u>	<u>Democrats</u>			<u>Republicans</u>		
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever
						N
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>						
Liberal	20.0	34.9	12.9	25.7	34.3	11.4
Middle-of-Road	17.9	33.2	21.1	13.1	33.2	18.2
Conservative	16.9	43.2	13.6	13.3	25.2	16.5
						35
						214
						437
<u>Activity of Federal Govt.</u>						
Increase	17.8	33.1	17.8	21.2	30.2	15.2
Remain the same	17.6	37.8	19.3	12.1	43.1	15.5
Decrease	19.5	35.9	13.6	13.6	26.4	16.6
						33
						58
						590
<u>Most Concerned With:</u>						
Local	16.6	28.6	20.0	13.9	24.6	17.6
State	18.0	37.6	16.9	17.8	30.9	17.3
Nation	16.6	38.6	13.8	6.9	24.9	14.8
						43.7
						34.0
						191
						189
<u>Most Important Problem</u>						
Facing State						
Social issues	21.2	30.8	15.8	8.2	25.9	21.5
Economic	18.6	36.6	16.6	15.1	32.4	11.5
State govt./pol. party	12.8	29.8	10.6	6.8	19.3	23.9
						44.3
						41.1
						392
						88

APPENDIX E (continued)

Contact: State Legislators on Party Business	Democrats				Republicans					
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	N	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	N
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>										
Liberal	50.0	36.0	9.4	4.5	308	62.2	29.7	8.1	0.0	37
Middle-of-Road	46.9	37.3	8.3	7.5	241	45.5	40.6	10.3	3.6	224
Conservative	36.1	42.0	10.1	11.8	119	40.6	36.7	11.4	11.4	466
<u>Activity of Federal Govt.</u>										
Increase	50.3	37.3	8.1	4.3	161	32.4	44.1	8.8	14.7	34
Remain the same	39.2	38.5	15.4	6.9	130	46.0	31.7	15.9	6.3	63
Decrease	45.6	37.9	8.0	8.6	338	43.9	37.5	10.4	8.2	624
<u>Most Concerned With:</u>										
Local	51.6	31.7	9.7	7.0	186	45.8	31.3	16.1	6.8	192
State	39.5	42.5	11.0	7.0	200	49.0	38.7	6.4	5.9	204
Nation	45.3	39.2	10.1	5.4	148	27.9	44.8	12.9	14.4	201
<u>Most Important Problem</u>										
Facing State										
Social issues	42.7	42.7	9.3	5.3	150	37.6	39.4	11.8	11.2	170
Economic	49.2	34.0	11.0	5.9	374	45.7	38.1	9.8	6.4	409
State govt./pol. party	54.0	34.0	8.0	4.0	50	34.7	43.2	10.5	11.6	95

APPENDIX E (continued)

Contact: U.S. Senators on Party Business	Democrats				Republicans					
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	N	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	N
<u>Liberal-Conservative</u>										
Liberal	23.5	45.6	17.0	13.9	294	31.4	37.1	17.1	14.3	35
Middle-of-Road	18.8	43.8	20.1	17.4	224	19.2	35.6	24.0	21.2	208
Conservative	17.1	42.3	13.5	27.0	111	17.7	41.0	18.4	22.9	446
<u>Activity of Federal Govt.</u>										
Increase	20.1	47.4	16.2	16.2	154	12.5	34.4	25.0	28.1	32
Remain the same	22.3	41.3	18.2	18.2	121	17.5	38.6	33.3	10.5	57
Decrease	19.0	41.9	19.0	20.0	315	18.6	39.8	19.3	22.3	596
<u>Most Concerned With:</u>										
Local	16.8	35.3	27.5	20.4	167	14.8	37.9	23.6	23.6	182
State	22.6	49.5	13.2	14.7	190	18.3	43.5	18.8	19.4	191
Nation	21.5	47.2	17.4	13.9	144	20.0	35.8	19.5	24.7	190
<u>Most Important Problem</u>										
Facing State										
Social issues	26.0	36.3	17.8	19.9	146	18.0	42.2	22.4	17.4	161
Economic	22.5	43.7	18.6	15.2	355	16.8	40.6	21.2	21.4	387
State govt./pol. party	11.9	50.0	16.7	21.4	42	14.6	31.5	24.7	29.2	89

APPENDIX E (continued)

Contact: State Party Chairmen	Democrats				N	Republicans				N
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never		Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	
Liberal-Conservative										
Liberal	49.8	36.3	8.4	5.5	311	60.0	20.0	17.1	2.9	35
Middle-of-Road	45.9	41.4	8.2	4.5	244	53.9	33.2	9.5	3.4	232
Conservative	34.1	40.3	16.3	9.3	129	49.9	36.5	9.9	3.8	477
Activity of Federal Govt.										
Increase	53.0	39.2	6.0	1.8	166	48.5	36.4	15.2	0.0	33
Remain the same	44.8	34.3	12.7	8.2	134	47.6	31.7	15.9	4.8	63
Decrease	40.2	41.0	11.6	7.2	346	52.4	35.1	8.7	3.7	641
Most Concerned With:										
Local	50.8	35.1	9.4	4.7	191	53.3	33.2	10.1	3.5	199
State	47.3	34.8	10.0	8.0	201	52.9	33.7	9.6	3.8	208
Nation	36.9	45.2	12.1	5.7	157	44.3	39.3	12.4	4.0	201
Most Important Problem										
Facing State										
Social issues	37.8	42.3	13.5	6.4	156	55.6	31.5	11.8	1.1	178
Economic	49.0	39.1	8.1	3.9	384	49.0	36.8	9.3	4.9	410
State govt./pol. party	56.3	31.3	6.3	6.3	48	51.0	34.4	10.4	4.2	96

APPENDIX E (continued)

Contact: Other Party Chairmen	Democrats					Republicans				
	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	N	Often	Some- times	Hardly Ever	Never	N
Liberal-Conservative										
Liberal	34.1	44.4	14.2	7.3	302	36.1	41.7	16.7	5.6	36
Middle-of-Road	33.6	43.5	14.7	8.2	232	34.5	42.2	17.0	6.3	223
Conservative	24.8	39.7	16.5	19.0	121	30.1	44.3	18.1	7.5	465
Activity of Federal Govt.										
Increase	38.4	47.8	11.9	1.9	159	40.6	40.6	6.3	12.5	32
Remain the same	24.4	41.7	21.3	12.6	127	32.8	40.6	20.3	6.3	64
Decrease	31.9	41.6	13.9	12.7	332	31.4	43.7	18.5	6.4	622
Most Concerned With:										
Local	32.3	45.2	16.1	6.5	186	33.2	40.9	19.7	6.2	193
State	33.5	41.0	13.3	12.2	188	33.3	43.3	15.4	8.0	201
Nation	28.2	42.3	20.1	9.4	149	25.8	44.9	21.2	8.1	198
Most Important Problem										
Facing State										
Social Issues	35.1	37.2	14.2	13.5	148	30.1	42.8	20.8	6.4	173
Economic	30.7	45.9	16.3	7.1	368	33.2	42.3	16.9	7.6	397
State gov't./pol. party	38.3	42.6	12.8	6.4	47	30.9	39.2	20.6	9.3	97

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

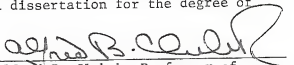
Born May 25, 1949, Dwight Lambert attended Hialeah High School in Hialeah, Florida. He completed undergraduate work at the University of Florida, earning a Master of Arts degree there in 1974. He has taught political science at Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas, and now teaches at the University of South Carolina at Spartanburg.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



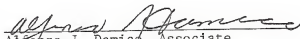
David P. Conradt, Chairman,
Professor of Political Science

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



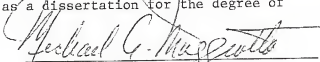
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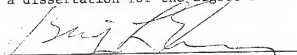
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Michael A. Maggiorotto, Assistant
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Political Science in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

March 1980

Dean, Graduate School